

defeated, 114 to 93. Thus, unless the Senate does a clean-up job, which is unlikely, the sugar lobbyists will be swarming around the House for at least another 5 years, creating the impression that they control U.S. policy in this delicate area.

No one says that all lobbying is bad or that all lobbyists should be banned. Quite the contrary. Many lobbyists representing American interests render services that are useful and possibly even necessary to the successful functioning of Congress. This general subject is treated at some length in an article by Arthur Edson.

But what useful service can be credited to the ubiquitous sugar lobbyists? Throughout the House debate FINDLEY and his backers tried in vain to find out. This is hardly surprising. Most of these lobbyists know little or nothing about the complex business of fixing sugar quotas. Furthermore, all the information needed by the House was readily available from sources within the administration. The lobbyists were nothing more than a collection of handsomely paid, but influential, fifth wheels.

It may seem surprising that most of the House Members are so indifferent, so insensitive, in this matter. If HALL or PELLY or both are right, the House has the makings of a potential Bobby Baker case on its hands. But the Members, or a majority of them, give every indication that they couldn't care less.

Actually, this is not as surprising as it seems. For the sugar bill over the years has been in the private domain of Chairman COOLEY of the House Agriculture Committee. It is his baby, and the hands-off notice is generally respected. Furthermore, the rank-and-file of the House Members are not greatly interested. No doubt Chairman COOLEY and a few members of his committee are fully conversant with the provisions of the measure. But the Members, by and large, are not, and the Senate at this late hour in the session will have little opportunity or inclination for a serious study of the bill.

Some of the results of this leave-it-to-Cooley attitude are remarkable, to say the least.

Let's take the case of Argentina and Venezuela. Argentina's agricultural counselor, Enrique Gaston Valente, said his country "thinks it is entitled to a quota without the Government having to pay anyone." Venezuela thought otherwise. It retained Charles Patrick Clark, attorney and one of this town's more successful lobbyists, at \$50,000 a year for 2½ years. The result: Venezuela's quota under the Johnson administration bill, 2,676 tons, was raised by the Cooley committee to 30,809 tons. Argentina was scheduled for a quota of some 63,000 tons. The committee cut it back to 21,500 tons. No need for the Argentine Government to pay anyone?

Some other oddities: Thailand, which had never had a sugar quota, was thoughtful enough to hire as a lobbyist one of COOLEY's former colleagues on the House committee. The Thais were awarded about 20,000 tons. Seven other newcomers to this country's sugar bowl were granted quotas. And (can you believe it?) each had the foresight to hire a lobbyist.

As already indicated, the useful nature of the services rendered by these lobbyists are as mysterious as the criteria used by the committee to determine which country gets how much. But there is nothing mysterious about some of the other activities of the lobbyists. Oscar Chapman, former Secretary of the Interior, was chairman last year of a Johnson-for-President fundraising enterprise. Clark has been a generous contributor to Democratic campaign funds. Donald Dawson, a former Truman aid, was also active in the Johnson campaign. And so on. These men may not know much

about the sugar business, but they know their way around town.

Chairman COOLEY is a bit sensitive about the activity and the take of the lobbyists. At a hearing last August, FINDLEY wanted to ask some questions about compensation of Lobbyist Ganson Purcell. FINDLEY was cut off by the chairman. COOLEY said it is "none of your business and none of my business what his terms of employment as a lawyer are. He fixes his own fee and his own arrangements."

The chairman, we think, is egregiously mistaken. Knowledge respecting the fees of lobbyists ought to be the business of every Member of Congress. And, most emphatically, it ought to be the business of the American people who, in the long run, pick up the tab.

### Tribute to Teens

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. JAMES G. O'HARA**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 19, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, too often the youth of today are characterized as irresponsible, lazy, or disdainful of the needs of others. Unfortunately, the misdeeds of a few sometimes overshadow the activities of the majority of our Nation's young people.

An example of the attitude of the majority of America's youth occurred recently in Macomb County, Mich., located in the congressional district which I am privileged to represent.

An article, which appeared in the October 13 edition of the Macomb Daily under the headline, "Tribute to Teens," describes the activities of a group of youngsters who, unselfishly, devoted more than 3,000 hours of their time during the summer months to work in local hospitals and other facilities.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include the Macomb Daily article, which was written by Assistant City Editor Bud Sloan, in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The article follows:

TRIBUTE TO TEENS—MACOMB YOUNGSTERS COMFORT THE SICK AND INFIRM

(By Bud Sloan)

They seem like average teenagers.

And they are, except—

They have an unusual capacity for compassion.

"They" are the 300 volunteers who work under the direction of the Macomb County Red Cross High School Council and Tuesday night they were publicly honored for their humanitarian work.

For the joy and pleasure they bring to crippled children, retarded children, and those whiling away idle hours in hospitals, the volunteers were given a plaque in recognition of the many hours they have spent bringing cheer and hope to the unfortunate.

In presenting the 1964-65 youth group achievement award—given annually to an outstanding youth organization by Parent's Magazine—Roseville Mayor Arthur S. C. Waterman offered the gratitude of the sick and the infirm.

"I am heartened to find so many of our young people in the county willing to give

of their time in constructive service to the community," Waterman said.

He recalled the amazing record of the volunteers in the past year.

"During the summer months, the volunteers gave over 3,000 hours of service in six nursing homes, St. Joseph Hospital in Mount Clemens, Mount Clemens General Hospital, Macomb County Health Clinic, Red Cross Bloodmobiles, and general work at the Red Cross chapter headquarters," Waterman said.

Apart from the hospital work, volunteers gave parties for crippled children, blind children, and retarded children.

Mark Golembowski, 15, of 38701 Westchester, Sterling township, who was installed as president of the council Tuesday night, summed it up:

"Most of the youngsters we try to cheer up don't get around very much."

"Hardly anyone comes in contact with them except their immediate family."

"If we can bring a little cheer into their lives we feel we are amply rewarded."

Deborah Niemer, 16, of 29943 Hughes, St. Clair Shores, who took office as corresponding secretary of the council, spoke of the many visits by volunteers to hospitals and nursing homes.

"It is so heartwarming to see the eyes of a patient light up when we stop in for a visit," said Miss Niemer.

"Often they will ask us to read for them or write a letter."

"Many are lonely and the friendship we offer seems to be priceless to them."

Taking office with Golembowski and Miss Niemer at the meeting were: James Scott, Mount Clemens High School, vice president; Claudine Smith, Lakeview High School, St. Clair Shores, recording secretary; Janet Ziemienski, Warren Woods High School, historian, and Gary Glasen, Eppler Junior High School, Utica, sergeant at arms.

And as the excitement of the presentation and the installation of officers died away in the Red Cross Chapter at 17955 Eleven Mile Road, Roseville, Mrs. Cecil Fansler, director of Red Cross youth in the county, looked fondly at the youngsters.

"Truly," she said, "they are their brother's keepers."

### Moscow, Peiping, and Hanoi Back Demonstrators

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN**

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, if there is any doubt about the Communist world conspiracy being involved in the peace demonstrations, teach-ins, and draft card burnings in the United States we should read the following which appeared from news dispatches in the Washington Post this morning:

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 19, 1965] MOSCOW AND PEIPING HAIL DEMONSTRATIONS

Newspapers in the Soviet Union and Communist China yesterday praised Americans who took part in weekend demonstrations against U.S. participation in the Vietnam war.

"Americans Ashamed of America," was the headline in the Soviet Government newspaper Izvestia last night over long stories about the demonstrations.

"Washington is alarmed," Izvestia declared, then went into a discussion of investigations planned by the Attorney General's Office into

activities of draft evaders and demonstrators. "The purpose of the new witch hunting is to frighten opponents of the war in Vietnam," Izvestia said.

In Pelping, the official People's Daily said "panic-stricken U.S. authorities used large numbers of policemen, FBI agents, and hired hooligans to obstruct and sabotage" the demonstrations. It also quoted an article in the North Vietnamese newspaper Nhan Dan, paying warm tribute to the American demonstrators.

As always, the newspaper distinguished between the peace-loving American people and their rulers, who are called warmongers who are bloodthirsty by nature.

**Tree Capital of the South, Taylor County, Fla.**

**EXTENSION OF REMARKS**

OF

**HON. DON FUQUA**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 14, 1965*

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, I take great pleasure in announcing to the Congress of the United States a proclamation by the Honorable Haydon Burns, Governor of Florida, proclaiming Taylor County, Fla., as the "Tree Capital of the South."

Mr. Speaker, we are all aware of the tremendous importance of timber and its related industries to the economy of this Nation, in fact it is one of the five major industries of the United States.

It is hard to visualize, as we see an individual tree, that this one item is a basic cornerstone of the economy of this Nation. The landowner is the first in a long line of Americans who derive all or part of their incomes from timber.

The multitude of wood products and lumber runs into the thousands.

It is therefore with justifiable pride that I join with Governor Burns in asserting our claim that Taylor County, an area which I am privileged to represent in the Congress, is the "Tree Capital of the South."

This afternoon on the steps of the capitol of Florida, Governor Burns took a branding iron to affix his signature to a proclamation which had been inscribed on a huge cross section of a cypress tree. It reads:

Whereas official forest statistics prove Taylor County, Fla., throughout history has been a world leader in tree production, and now leads the South in wood harvested and leads the South in reforestation, I hereby proclaim Taylor County, Fla., the Tree Capital of the South.

This is no idle boast.

As far back as the 1700's, Taylor County began harvesting its vast acreages of virgin timber. Through the years this harvesting accelerated, as Taylor County is situated in the heartland of America's virgin timber.

Harvesting hit a peak in the early part of this century with the construction of the largest cypress sawmill in the world, the Burton Swartz Co., still in operation as the Lee-Tidewater Cypress Co., and the huge Brooks-Scanlon sawmill, which was to become the largest

sawmill ever to operate east of the Mississippi.

The sawmill town of Carbur sprang up, and was the largest sawmill town in the world.

When these early timber companies cut out the virgin forests, many believed Taylor County would dwindle away, but forward thinking men began reforestation even as the last vestiges of the virgin stands were cut away. Their efforts have borne fruit.

Our area is noted for its rapid rate of growth of timber and just over a decade ago, Buckeye Cellulose Corp. established its huge plant near Perry, and today after five major expansions, is one of the three largest dissolving pulp producers in America.

Lee-Tidewater Cypress Co. is today expanding into a completely new plant, and employs hundreds of people.

Cooperation between the pulp and timber industry has brought a resurgence of the lumber industry in the county, and today five major mills are operating there.

Taylor County has nearly a billion board feet of standing timber and wood harvesting in the county last year exceeded 340,000 cords of wood. Looking to the future, Taylor County has been the leading tree planting county in our State, having planted over 87 million seedlings since 1928, with thousands of acres reforested with direct seeding.

This past year alone, Taylor County planted 6 1/2 million seedlings.

Taylor County has more tree farm acreage than any other county in the State, in fact one of every 12 tree farm acres in Florida is located in Taylor County.

This is the basis for our claim.

Each year, Perry is the site for a great pine tree festival which pays tribute to the second largest industry in our State—timber—producing a billion dollars in income annually.

I take pride in being able to present just a portion of the story of Taylor County to the Congress. Men looking to the future, where we will need an ever increasing amount of wood for a growing Nation, are scientifically conserving this priceless natural resource in the Taylor County area.

I pay tribute to them and salute the people of Perry and Taylor County, and join with them in making claim to the title that Taylor County is truly the "Tree Capital of the South."

**Sharing Federal Taxes**

**EXTENSION OF REMARKS**

OF

**HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE**

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 14, 1965*

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday, I introduced legislation calling for the distribution of certain Federal tax revenues to the States for dis-

tribution to communities for health, education, and welfare projects.

It seems to me that this approach is crucial if we are to preserve the integrity of local government, which is already struggling with a narrow tax base and increasing needs. An additional source of funds would ease high property taxes which in the long run tend to weaken the competitive position of States and communities in the national economy.

One of the voices raised in support of the tax sharing idea has been that of the Lowell, Mass., Sun. In an editorial which appeared on Thursday, October 14, the Sun pointed out its early support for such a proposal and its continued determination to press for a system that would enable our local communities and State governments to respond to the demands of a growing population.

Under unanimous consent I include the editorial in the RECORD:

**SHARING FEDERAL TAXES**

More than a year ago, this newspaper was one of the first voices in the country to propose the idea of distributing part of the Federal Government's income tax revenues to the States and the cities.

Our reasoning was simple. Federal revenues are rising steadily as the economy expands, while State and municipal treasures are everywhere approaching bankruptcy.

Many of the major needs of 20th-century America are local: better schools, better police protection, better sewerage, welfare programs and so on. Although there is a patchwork of Federal programs available to help State and local communities meet these needs, the red tape can get so complex that most municipalities are left in the cold.

Besides, we would rather see local governments handle these problems by themselves than have to be fed and led by Washington. But because real estate taxes and sale taxes have reached their saturation point almost everywhere in the country, there is nowhere the States and cities can go to get more money except to the Federal Government.

Sharing in Federal income tax revenues would also give cities a fairer break in relation to towns. Cities such as Lowell have high tax rates because there are so many urban services to provide. Towns have lower tax rates because there is less need for police protection, incinerators, sewage treatment plants, and so on. The result is that industry locates in the towns, lowering their tax rates even more; while at the same time industry leaves the cities, raising the real estate levies on the city homeowner.

The notion of Federal tax distribution was officially proposed to President Johnson late last year by Dr. Walter Heller, former White House economic adviser. But the plan languished because organized labor was opposed to it and because President Johnson was irked at Heller for leaking the idea to the press.

After many months of hibernation, the plan was picked up again not by the Democratic administration, but by Republican Governors and now, by Senator JACOB K. JAVITS, of New York, also a Republican.

JAVITS this week introduced a bill that would establish a \$2.5 billion annual trust fund which the U.S. Treasury would distribute to the States, which could use their allotments for programs involving health, education and welfare.

The Javits proposal is not perfect, but it is a big step in the right direction. We hope Congress gives it very careful scrutiny, and that a workable program of tax sharing is enacted very soon.

down to the zero tariff level on 26 major categories of U.S. exports.

We hope that the Common Market will not become a closed trading association which would prevent the small nations of the world from reaping the fruits of trade.

We urge that trade with Communist China and other restricted nations, be begun on a pilot project that later could be expanded if successful.

#### Asia

We believe that no solution can be reached in Vietnam without discussion with the parties concerned including, if need be, the Vietcong. It is important to any understanding of the Vietnamese situation that we realize that the Vietcong are at least to some degree autonomous. The war should be fought in the south with the Vietcong and we support the President in his efforts to maintain our position in southeast Asia. However, we believe that the bombing of North Vietnam is in effectual, a danger to world peace and a violation of international law. We condemn Red China and North Vietnam for any aid they have rendered the Vietcong in violation of the Geneva treaty of 1954.

We urge the Johnson administration to reexamine carefully the present U.S. policy with respect to Communist China, and to give consideration to the possibility of a "two China" policy. This policy would mean the diplomatic recognition of Red China and the government of Taiwan as two separate governments, each renouncing its claims to the other's territory. Both of these nations would be admitted to the United Nations, and the seat in the Security Council now held by China would go to India. At a time when the nations of the world are striving for cooperation it becomes increasingly difficult for such ventures to be successful when the United States fails to recognize the existence of a nation with over 700 million people and great military potential.

The United States must continue to protect the government on Taiwan from invasion by the Communist Chinese. While we support the continuance of military aid to Taiwan, we believe that such aid should be made contingent on the government's initiation of substantial political and civil reform. We also urge that the government of Taiwan grant true civil and political equality to the native Formosans.

We urge the United States to recognize Outer Mongolia.

We support the persistent efforts of the United States to have India and Pakistan peacefully settle their border dispute. We find it ironic that while both these nations are advocates of policies of conciliation among the major powers, they are unable to enter into meaningful negotiation of their own problems.

We support the newly created State of Malaysia and believe that the United States and the United Nations should guarantee its independence. We regret Indonesia's behavior over the past few months, and hope that within the next year she will develop a wiser policy toward Malaysia and the United Nations. It is indeed unfortunate that President Sukarno has become so obsessed with imperialism that he has begun to practice it.

#### Latin America

We agree with Senator ROBERT KENNEDY that the President should have obtained the approval of the Organization of American States before sending U.S. troops to the Dominican Republic. We furthermore urge the creation of a permanent OAS military force to help keep the peace in Latin America in the future.

We believe that in the future the United States should pursue a policy of consultation and collective action with its southern

neighbors. Such a policy is more in consonance with the goal of the Alliance for Progress which seeks to establish democratic and progressive governments in Latin America.

If the United States is to promote a true Alliance for Progress stressing democracy and social reform in Latin America, our Government must realize that it will frequently be necessary to deal with Latin American leaders who are not as stringently anti-Communist as we are. No loyal American wants another Castroite government in this hemisphere, but the solution is not the support of right wing military governments instead.

We believe that the United States should consider the possibility of reestablishing diplomatic relations with Cuba, when Cuba demonstrates by its actions that she will permit the people of each Latin American nation to determine their own destiny free from external pressure.

We support the policy of the United States with respect to Cuba. We hope that the Cuban people will rejoin the ranks of free people in the future; however, we do not believe that Cuba is today the major threat to the United States in Latin America. We believe that ignorance, poverty, famine, and the recalcitrance of the ruling and landed classes in Latin America are the true threats to the security of the United States. It is through the failure to eradicate these propagators of turmoil and tyranny that communism gains its great impetus. Cuba is, however, a threat to Latin American nations because of its infiltration and sabotage. We urge the OAS to use all its powers to stop Communist infiltration of Latin America.

Latin America is desperately in need of leaders who are non-Communist social reformers. The United States must support such leaders wherever they exist. We must be equally alarmed by both Communist coups and right-wing coups. Our reaction to the overthrow of President Bosch was not comparable to our reaction in the present crisis, and this can hardly serve as an inspiration to other non-Communist social reformers in Latin America. We, therefore, propose that aid and diplomatic recognition to governments which have come to power through the overthrow of democratically elected governments be permanently withheld.

#### PROTESTS OF VIETNAM WAR

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PUCINSKI] is recognized for 30 minutes.

(Mr. PUCINSKI asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, there is growing concern, and properly so, throughout the country about the rash of demonstrations we have witnessed this weekend, and continue to witness, protesting our country's policy in Vietnam. These demonstrations have taken on extremely serious proportions and are quite properly of growing concern to all Americans. I have spoken here in the well of the House on numerous occasions warning about the trend in America toward what I have described as mobocracy—impatience with the established order, impatience with the established procedures of our democracy, impatience of people who take the law into their own hands, and, through mob rule, try to correct whatever grievances they have.

No one quarrels with the right of any American to speak out and express his grievances, whether he does it individ-

ually or collectively. This is not the issue. The issue is the impression which is being created around the world when, as a result of these various demonstrations, we actually announce to many parts of the world that those participating in these demonstrations do not have confidence in the established order of a democracy.

There are ample protections in our form of government for every American to make known his views and his grievances.

I submit that these young people and, yes, some of the professors who have been participating in this latest rash of demonstrations against our policy in Vietnam, must be prepared to assume full responsibility for the consequences of their actions.

President Johnson and other responsible Americans—those charged with the responsibility of carrying out our foreign policy—quite properly have warned that these demonstrations against our policy in Vietnam, even though participated in by a relatively small number of people, might be misinterpreted by our enemies as an expression of American will. Consequently, whatever hope we may have of negotiating a solution of the problem in Vietnam in the near future may be that much delayed.

We have every reason to believe, from current reports from Vietnam, that the situation is markedly improved. Secretary Rusk made a most significant announcement when he said that the Hanoi Government has withdrawn one of its most serious obstacles to negotiations—its original insistence that American troops must be withdrawn from South Vietnam before we can begin negotiations. Many observers of the scene in Vietnam consider this a major breakthrough, in our efforts to get this dispute from the battlefield to the negotiating table. Increasingly, there has been an air of confidence from many sources all over the world, that the successes of the South Vietnamese and the American troops in Vietnam are hastening the day when we can resolve this tragic dispute by bringing it to the negotiating table.

Therefore, it would seem to me that the young people who have taken to burning their draft cards and staging demonstrations ought to weigh the consequences of their actions. All of them should understand that they may be unwittingly prolonging the conflict.

I was very happy to see that the Attorney General has announced a full-scale investigation of this whole rash of demonstrations and civil disturbances. The uniformity with which they appeared over the weekend throughout the country would surely indicate there has been some advance planning. I am very happy to note that our Government is going to look into this advance planning, because it is entirely possible that this outbreak of demonstrations has been triggered by those who have feared the worst in Vietnam—victory for freedom.

It is significant that when the struggle in Vietnam seems to be improving for the allies, for the South Vietnamese and our American troops, we suddenly see this outpouring of opposition to our policies.

**Foreign aid**

We urge the Congress to authorize and appropriate the funds requested by President Johnson for foreign aid, with the stipulation that the Congress reserves the authority to withhold any funds appropriated to a nation where there is strong evidence that the allocated funds will not be effectively used for the social and economic betterment of the people by the government of that nation. We believe that American programs of economic, technical, and military assistance are essential for the growth and development of the indigent nations of the world and for the securing of these nations against the menace of Communist domination. It is in areas where poverty, illiteracy, and famine are permitted to fester, that tyrannical governments flourish.

Since overpopulation is the cause of many of the problems of the underdeveloped nations, we especially urge the United States to step up its program of educational and material aid in the field of birth control.

The United States is confronted with the challenge of demonstrating that people all over the world can be both free and well fed. Ignorance, destitution, famine, and the recalcitrance of the ruling and landed classes constitute the threats to the security of freedom and peace around the globe.

We do not believe that we can evaluate the effectiveness of foreign aid in terms of how many Communists it helps to kill, nor do we hold that those who are recipients of foreign aid must always agree with us. The spirit of individualism which is the hallmark of democracy cries out against our demanding that the rest of the world agree with us all the time, and a sense of reality makes it clear that to so demand would be folly. We suggest that the judgment of history and our own self-interest dictate that we measure the efficiency of foreign aid by how many men, women, and children are helped so they can live decent and useful lives.

We believe that the leaders of nations receiving American foreign aid have a moral responsibility to help their people; our aid must be utilized toward that end, never toward the accumulation of fortunes in Swiss bank accounts.

Today, the people of Latin America, Asia, and Africa are crippled by their agrarian traditions and high levels of illiteracy. We must be patient, and we should not expect miracles overnight, but we have to help these people educate themselves and adjust to our technological age.

We must remember that the burden which our prosperous Nation is asked to bear because of foreign aid is minute compared with the hardships of illiteracy, poverty, and disease which more than one-half of the world's people must today sustain. It is not right for the rich to stand idly by when the means to help the poor are available.

**Peace Corps**

Today the United States has no better ambassadors than the men and women who serve in the Peace Corps, and the Peace Corps serves as a living achievement of, and memorial to President Kennedy.

We urge the continuance and expansion of the Peace Corps in order to help the world's poor in those nations which request Peace Corps aid.

**Disarmament**

We believe that war is a dubious luxury which mankind can no longer afford. Today the atom contains the power either to destroy civilization or to provide the means for people around the world to live better lives.

We support the efforts of the United States and other members of the United Nations who are seeking agreements in Geneva. We urge that France occupy her seat and join in the search for means of achieving disarmament.

We are in favor of the Kennedy and John-

son administrations' policy of seeking agreement with the Soviet Union whenever possible. We must remember that but a few years ago an atom test ban was but a dream, and that now that dream is a reality. We support the proposals made by our Government and urge all nations to negotiate with an open and flexible policy.

Due to advances in technology, we believe that the United States should give up its demands for on-site inspections where remote control means of detection are found effective in detecting nuclear armaments.

**Western European unity**

We believe that the unity of the Western World is essential for the security of the Western way of life. The road to a united Atlantic community may be clogged with obstacles, but if those forces which favor an integrated Western World are patient and persevering, such a united Atlantic community will emerge stretching across the Atlantic Ocean and binding together those nations and peoples who share a common belief in the democratic way of life.

We urge France to join with other Western nations in strengthening Atlantic unity. President de Gaulle's persistent efforts to create a third world force under French leadership can only aid those powers who wish to undermine the Western community. We also urge France to allow England to attain full partnership in the Common Market. We are hopeful that in the future the Common Market will be expanded so that all members of the Atlantic community may benefit from economic cooperation.

**Eastern Europe**

In recent years it has become clear that within the nations of Eastern Europe there are stirrings of a desire for freedom and independence. We urge the Congress to afford the executive branch of the Government full latitude in its relations with Eastern Europe in order to permit us to stimulate these countries to pursue freer foreign policies.

In particular, we urge the Congress to permit the U.S. Government to have freedom in its political and economic relations with such nations as Poland, Yugoslavia, and Rumania.

**Berlin wall**

We hope that the day will soon come when the peoples of Berlin will be reunited. The Berlin wall cannot prevent the people of all Germany from desiring freedom; it can imprison their bodies but not their minds. We recognize that the Berlin wall is a violation of international law and international morality. We hope soon to see the day when the wall no longer will exist.

We are encouraged by the East-West agreements allowing the Berlin wall to open during such times as Easter and Christmas, but we look forward to the time when the wall will no longer divide families and friends.

**Middle East**

We believe that the United States should do all within its power to arrive at a lasting peace in the Middle East.

We support American determination and aid to help Israel utilize the waters of the Jordan River. We believe that it is essential that the United States continue to protect Israel, the most democratic nation in the Middle East.

We are pleased by the recent stand of President Bourguiba and the Tunisian Government in urging Arab reconciliation with Israel.

We feel that the debate in the recent Congress over Egyptian aid was useful, for it showed quite clearly Congress' increasing dissatisfaction with Nasser's policy, without lessening the executive branch's necessary flexibility in foreign policy.

**Africa**

We urge the United States to vigorously support the efforts of those who are trying

to make Angola, Mozambique, and Portuguese Guinea free and independent of colonial domination.

The United States must support the efforts which are aimed at giving all South Africans equal rights. This of necessity dictates the end of the system of apartheid. We urge the United States to support a total economic embargo, with the exception of those cases in which hardship would be brought upon the people themselves, and the censuring of South Africa in the United Nations. We do not believe, however, that South Africa should be expelled from the United Nations.

We believe that it is the responsibility of the new nations of Africa to end the problems of racism within their countries.

We believe that it is the United States duty to urge the African nations to form zones of economic cooperation with the eventual goal of political unity.

We believe in the principle of self-determination of all the free African nations with as little foreign political intervention and interference both by the Western and Eastern blocks as possible.

**Soviet Union**

We believe that the United States should keep open all channels of communication with the Soviet Union, in the hope that the Soviets will recognize that it is in their interest as well as ours to arrive at the peaceful resolution of disputes.

We urge the U.S. Senate to ratify the consular treaty recently negotiated between Russia and the United States. The treaty is an extension of the expressed hopes of the Russian people and the American people to live peacefully with one another. In addition it will afford added protection to American citizens traveling in the Soviet Union.

We urge the U.S. Congress to strongly condemn Russian discrimination against Soviet Jews.

**Foreign trade**

We urge the nations of the world to work for the reduction of tariffs. We believe that the only effective trade policy this country can have is one that will be practiced by our allies as well. Therefore, the President should do all in his power to bring about a common trade policy toward the Communist block among nations of the Western World.

We support the sale of wheat and other food products to the Soviet Union and the Eastern European nations and the extension of long-term credit by the Export-Import Bank to the Eastern European nations and the Soviet Union.

It is time for the United States to reexamine its attitude with regard to trade with Russia and her allies. Increased trade means that our economy will improve. Also, by helping the Soviet citizens to live better lives we will be giving them all the more reason to hope for peace. This is in the interest of everyone.

We believe that the Johnson Act, which forbids long-term loans to nations in default of debts dating from World War II, should be repealed.

President de Gaulle's refusal to allow Britain to join the Common Market means that under the provisions of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 the only commodities for which the United States and the Common Market can substantially cut tariffs are aircraft and margarine.

The presence of the balance-of-payments deficit and the growing independence of the Common Market means that increased trade with these nations is needed for the United States to help maintain its leadership in the free world. We therefore call upon Congress to pass the Reuss-Douglas amendment to the Trade Expansion Act allowing the United States to bargain with the Common Market

I subscribe to the warning issued by the Attorney General, Mr. Katzenbach, that while this widespread movement is, of course, not Communist controlled, it is his strong belief that the Communists are operating in the fringes and certainly inspiring this movement.

It would be my hope that those Americans who profess to have such a great concern for peace will remember that our Constitution provides that the responsibility for foreign policy rests with the President, not with college students, however well intentioned.

We here in this Congress have developed a certain discipline. There are many temptations in the legislative branch of government to legislate foreign policy. Yet wiser voices prevail and in most instances we realize that the Constitution of the United States entrusts to the hands of the Chief Executive, the President, the responsibility for making these major decisions. What more could these young people in the streets engaging in these demonstrations know about this conflict than the President of the United States, who has all of the facts at his disposal? No man has made a greater and more sincere effort to resolve this dispute in Vietnam than our great President, Lyndon B. Johnson. He has said repeatedly that the loss of a single American life or the loss of any life in Vietnam is a national tragedy. No one among us treats lightly the casualties there. There is not a Member of this Congress on either side of the aisle who would not do all in his power to conclude these hostilities in Vietnam as quickly as possible. So when these young people take to the streets in their violent demonstrations and make a mockery of the law by burning their draft cards, are they really giving strength to the foes of democracy? In effect they are saying, "We do not have confidence in the established order of this republic. We know better than you what the facts are." However, most tragically, they are giving aid and comfort to an enemy who is determined and dedicated to destroy the very freedom which guarantees these people the right to demonstrate in the streets. It would be my hope that these professors who have been stirring these youngsters up would give some thought to the fact that by these demonstrations they are indeed weakening the very foundation of the democratic process. We in this Congress, the President, and our Secretary of State have spoken out time and again in an effort to bring this dispute to the bargaining table. No man has tried harder than Secretary of State Dean Rusk here in Washington and our ambassador to the United Nations in New York, Justice Goldberg, to try to resolve this dispute and bring the hostilities to an end. They have made every single offer and have really tried, but the enemy thinks that somehow or other they can wear us down. President Johnson said repeatedly that we are willing to sit down at the negotiation table whenever the opposition is ready for it.

So it seems to me these young people are today actually prolonging the war. More tragically, it appears to me

that many of these young people are the unwitting victims of a Communist plot, a conspiracy somehow to try to resolve the problems of Vietnam in the streets of America.

I think we can all be proud of the American people. The overwhelming majority of the American people have watched these demonstrations with great concern but also with considerable self-discipline. They recognize the right of these young people to participate in these demonstrations. Most Americans have great pity for these young people. I think these young people themselves should be pitied, but I am delighted, I am proud and happy, that the Attorney General is undertaking a vast investigation to find out who are the people who have put together this eruption of demonstrations simultaneously all over the world. We have seen this happen before in America whenever we have had the Communists on the run in various parts of the world. We have had other demonstrations and there were great movements during the fifties and the early sixties. I think that the time has come to expose the perpetrators of this. We should accelerate our activities in Vietnam because indeed the policy laid down by President Johnson clearly demonstrates it is the policy to bring peace to this troubled part of the world and secure Vietnam for freedom. It would be my hope that these young people will stop to consider what would happen if Vietnam should fall into Communist hands. There has been ample evidence that if the American forces would be withdrawn from Vietnam, within 24 hours this bastion of freedom would go down into Communist hands and it would be no time at all before the whole of southeast Asia would be in Communist hands. So it is my hope that the American people in their traditional, good-mannered way will be able to impress on these young people the great damage that they are doing not only to the democratic processes in this country but more importantly what they are doing to the morale of our boys in Vietnam.

I can just imagine how tragically sickening it must be to young Americans who are risking their lives for the sake of freedom, putting their lives on the altar of freedom in Vietnam, to hear over the radio, or to see on TV or read in the press about the demonstrations in this country. This, to me, appears to be a serious act against the best interests of this country.

I hope that Mr. Katzenbach will move with dispatch to complete his investigation.

And I hope those participating in these demonstrations will recall Plato's sound advise.

You are young, my son, and, as the years go by, time will change and even reverse many of your present opinions. Refrain therefore awhile from setting yourself up as a judge of the highest matters.

#### BANKING AND CURRENCY COMMITTEE MEETING

(Mr. HARVEY of Michigan asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. HARVEY of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, at 10 o'clock this morning I attended a meeting of the House Committee on Banking and Currency where the committee reported out a bank merger bill. This meeting was not called by the chairman after due notice to all Members. The basis for holding the meeting was the rules of the committee itself, which provided for regular meetings on the first and third Tuesday in the month. To my knowledge, however, this rule has not been observed during the past 5 years that I have served on this committee of the House.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, that I was the first Member of the House to introduce bank merger legislation during this session of Congress. The bill which I introduced, H.R. 7563, on April 22, 1965, was substantially the same as the Senate bill, S. 1698. I explained to our committee that although I was not wedded to this particular bill as a solution to the problem, I have felt it imperative to all concerned that bank merger legislation be enacted in this session of Congress.

In addition, Mr. Speaker, I joined a majority of the committee in a petition to force the chairman of our committee to call a special meeting to consider this legislation. I have regularly attended these special meetings of the committee, but it is apparent that our chairman, who has openly expressed his opposition to S. 1698 and the Ashley amendment thereto, has thwarted all attempts by a majority of the committee to report this legislation this year. In fact, it is my personal belief that the chairman of our committee, by his actions at these meetings, actually precipitated the meeting that was held this morning.

Thus, the meeting provided in the rules for the third Tuesday in the month was the only meeting in the time remaining in this session of Congress when this bill could be considered by a majority of the committee. Despite my recognition of the need for such legislation and my previous support, I voted against reporting such legislation at the meeting this morning. I did so without regard to whether it was a legally constituted meeting and without regard to the merits of the legislation itself, solely because I felt that in the spirit of fairness to other Members who had not received adequate notice of the meeting, the legislation should not be considered.

I do not condone the manner in which the chairman has conducted these special meetings on S. 1698. I am impressed, however, that "two wrongs do not make a right."

#### CLEVELAND SHOWS THE WAY WITH WOMEN'S JOB CORPS CENTER

(Mr. SWEENEY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. SWEENEY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of the House to a very detailed article by Tom Nolan of the Washington Daily News of Tuesday, October 5, 1965. It describes the operation of the Cleveland Women's Job Corps Center. I am quite familiar with the operation of this Office of Economic Op-

October 19, 1965

portunity project and I am delighted to note that it is winning some degree of national recognition as a model for other cities to imitate.

Mr. Speaker, on thousands of occasions throughout this year, the Office of Economic Opportunity has been the subject of critical comment in our press. I am delighted to note that in this instance, at least, recognition is being paid for a job being carried out quietly and effectively, and which will in the ultimate, guarantee a more realistic chance for success and a happy life for thousands of young women of America.

The article by Mr. Nolan follows:

**JOB CORPS GIVES GIRLS A BREAK FOR THE FUTURE**

(By Tom Nolan)

**CLEVELAND.**—While its more publicized counterparts in Los Angeles and St. Petersburg are reeling under charges ranging from rowdyism to payroll padding, the Women's Job Corp Center in Cleveland is quietly giving 325 girls a good chance for a happy life.

"Of course we've had disciplinary problems," says Mrs. Mary Chambers, director of the center. "You're bound to have them any place you get 300 teen-aged girls together, and these teenagers happen to come from the worst possible conditions."

Although there has been some drinking and other misconduct among the girls, discipline has not been a big problem. Four girls have been dismissed in the 5 months the center has been open, three for failing to observe restrictions placed on them after unexplained absences.

**MARIJUANA**

The fourth girl was found to be receiving marijuanna in the mall, was turned over to the police and then sent home. Local papers reported the incident, but there was no scandal.

All the girls are between 16 and 21. Some come from broken homes, some from northern slums and others from southern rural poverty pockets. Most of them are high school dropouts, although several have no more than a sixth-grade education. None has skill enough to hold a steady job.

To most, growing up means getting married and going on relief, or having a child or two and going on relief. "If we didn't get them out of where they were, they'd be on welfare all their lives," says Mrs. Chambers.

**QUIET DISTRICT**

The center, formerly a Salvation Army home for young working women, is located in a quiet residential district. It looks like an apartment house and it's run like a college dorm.

"I was afraid to come," says one recent arrival. "I thought it would be more closed in—like a jail." Some of the girls had never had a bed of their own. Others had never slept on sheets.

The girls enroll in the center voluntarily and can withdraw whenever they want. Many do—from homesickness. Of the 380 who have come to the center so far, 53 have gone home.

Job Corps officials insist the girls must be sent away from their homes to accomplish the desired change in their lives.

**FREEOM**

Those who remain are given considerable freedom with their own time. After classes they may go out until dark as long as they sign out and give their destination. On weekends they can date and boys may visit them Wednesday evenings and weekends.

The girls are trained for secretarial, business and clerical work, retail sales, food preparation and service, health and medical service, serving and dress designing, graphic art skills, cleaning and laundry trades, hair dressing, and child care.

After initial classroom instruction they receive on-the-job training in Cleveland businesses.

**POCKET MONEY**

Each girl is given \$30 a month pocket money. Another \$50 a month is put aside for when she leaves. Of the latter, up to \$25 can be sent home with the Government matching this amount. Each receives a \$75 clothing allowance when she arrives and another \$65 later this autumn for winter clothing. Training, room, and board are free.

No girl can remain at the center for longer than 2 years. Most finish their training at the end of 1 year.

The early success of the Cleveland center can be traced primarily to two assets: a sound professional organization and good community relations.

The center is under a \$4 million contract to Alpha Kappa Alpha, a national sorority with 57 years of experience in social service. Mrs. Chambers, a former biology professor at Alabama A&M, is a member of the sorority, as are most of the center's administrative staff.

**LOCAL FIRMS**

Cleveland businesses and civic organizations have helped out. Local firms, including a beautician, printer and laundry, have offered their establishments for on-the-job training.

Through the Council of Catholic Women, some 25 girls attend church each Sunday with Cleveland families and are guests for dinner afterwards. Local libraries and museums offer special orientation tours.

But it will take more than cultural enlightenment to train most of the girls and the center's 96 staff members have no illusions that their jobs will be easy or successful in the end.

For nearly every girl has to develop a sense of direction. Counselors and teachers have found that they must become the mother, father, friend and confidante that most girls never had.

"It will take a good bit of daily counseling to help them," says Mrs. Chambers. "Most of them tend to downgrade their capabilities because they think they are stupid."

"We know we can't reach them all. But if we can just reach half of them—or even only 25 percent of them—we'll have done our job."

**CORRECTION OF ROLLCALL**

**Mr. COLLIER.** Mr. Speaker, on roll-call No. 368 on October 14, I am recorded as not having answered to my name. I was present and answered to my name. I ask unanimous consent that the permanent RECORD and Journal be corrected accordingly.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

**LEAVE OF ABSENCE**

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey, for October 20 through October 23, 1965, on account of official business.

**SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED**

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. BRADEMAS, for 30 minutes, today.

Mr. FEIGHAN, for 15 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. FEIGHAN, for 15 minutes, tomorrow.

row, October 20, 1965; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. ROONEY of New York, for 10 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. QUIE, for 30 minutes, today.

Mr. COHELAN (at the request of Mr. WHITE of Texas), for 60 minutes, October 20, 1965; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. PATMAN, for 30 minutes, today, and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. PUCINSKI, for 30 minutes, today.

Mr. HALPERN (at the request of Mr. HALL), for 10 minutes, today; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. HALPERN (at the request of Mr. HALL), for 10 minutes, on October 20, 1965; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. RUMSFELD (at the request of Mr. HALL), for 15 minutes, on Wednesday, October 20, 1965.

Mr. RUMSFELD (at the request of Mr. HALL), for 20 minutes, on Thursday, October 21, 1965.

Mr. ASHBROOK (at the request of Mr. HALL), for 40 minutes, today; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter and requests permission to caption two separate subjects.

**EXTENSION OF REMARKS**

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, or to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. ARENDS to revise and extend his remarks and include an article on United States balance-of-payments problem, notwithstanding the cost is estimated by the Public Printer to be \$624.

Mr. BARRETT and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. DULSKI in four instances and in each to include extraneous matter.

Mr. WHITE of Idaho in five instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. ROBERTS in two instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. GROSS in two instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. YATES to print extraneous material relating to urban renewal project in Chicago, notwithstanding cost of \$598.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. HALL) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. RUMSFELD in seven instances.

Mr. MOORE in three instances.

Mr. BATES.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. WHITE of Texas) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. McCARTHY in six instances.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois in five instances.

Mr. TODD in two instances.

Mr. ANNUNZIO.

Mr. GARMATZ.

Mr. FRASER.

Mr. BURTON of California.

Mr. MINISH.

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan in two instances.

Mr. MILLER in five instances.

State University, Stillwater, Okla., was considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 905), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

**PURPOSE**

The purpose of H.R. 8232 is to allow Oklahoma State University to import free of duty a scientific instrument for its own use.

**GENERAL STATEMENT**

H.R. 8232 would direct the Secretary of the Treasury to admit free of duty a mass spectrometer-gas chromatograph for the use of Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Okla.

Your committee is advised that no comparable instrument made in the United States is available. The Department of Commerce has stated with respect to this bill:

"The instrument purchased by Oklahoma State University is a noncommercial device, which was designed by Dr. R. Ryhage, of Sweden, and is being produced in that country according to Dr. Ryhage's specifications. This is a highly specialized instrument, designed for biochemical research, which combines the function of a mass spectrometer and a gas chromatograph in a single integrated apparatus. No counterpart of the Ryhage design is available from domestic sources."

In the circumstances, the Committee on Finance, like the Committee on Ways and Means of the House, is of the opinion that this legislation is meritorious and consistent with prior legislation of this nature and recommends its enactment.

**ISOTOPE SEPARATOR FOR PRINCETON UNIVERSITY**

The bill (H.R. 8272) to provide for the free entry of an isotope separator for the use of Princeton University, Princeton, N.J., was considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 906), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

**PURPOSE**

The purpose of H.R. 8272 is to allow Princeton University to import free of duty a scientific instrument for its own use.

**GENERAL STATEMENT**

H.R. 8272 would direct the Secretary of the Treasury to admit free of duty an isotope separator for the use of Princeton University, Princeton, N.J., during June 1964, under New York consumption entry 1062984, and related articles imported at the same port in June 1964 under consumption entry 1074614.

Your committee is advised that no comparable instrument made in the United States is available. The Department of Commerce has stated with respect to H.R. 8272 and similar bills ordered favorably reported at the same time (H.R. 6666 and H.R. 6906):

"It is the understanding of this Department that the instruments required by the universities are essentially specialized beta-ray spectroscopic devices used in nuclear energy research. At the time of purchase, instruments having the required characteristics of high concentration and convertibility

essential to devices used in nuclear energy research could not be obtained from domestic sources.

"After careful investigation the Department feels that at the time the universities determined their requirements and specifications for the beta-ray spectroscopic devices no instruments of equivalent scientific value were available from domestic sources."

In the circumstances, the Committee on Finance, like the Committee on Ways and Means of the House is of the opinion that this legislation is meritorious and consistent with prior legislation of this nature and recommends its enactment.

**SHADOMASTER MEASURING PROJECTOR FOR UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH DAKOTA**

The bill (H.R. 9351) to provide for the free entry of one shadomaster measuring projector for the use of the University of South Dakota was considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 907), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

**PURPOSE**

The purpose of H.R. 9351 is to allow the University of South Dakota to import free of duty a scientific instrument for its own use.

**GENERAL STATEMENT**

H.R. 9351 as reported would direct the Secretary of the Treasury to admit free of duty one Shadomaster measuring projector (and its accompanying parts and equipment) for the use of the University of South Dakota, and provides for the reliquidation of the customs entry and appropriate refund of duty in the event that the liquification of the entry has become final and duty paid.

The machine for which free entry is provided for by the bill is to be used by the Department of Geology of the University of South Dakota to project and to measure thin sections of rocks and minerals.

Your committee is advised that no comparable machine made in the United States is available. The Department of Commerce has stated with respect to this bill:

"The term 'Shadomaster' is a trademark for an optical measuring projector made by Watson, Manasty & Co., Ltd., Middlesex, England. This type of projector is used in meteorological work where precise, consistent, and fine measurements are required. A comparison of the specifications of the Shadomaster with the specifications of similar instruments manufactured in the United States indicates that the domestic products are not of equivalent scientific value. Both the foreign and domestic instruments provide the same degree of linear accuracy. However, the scope of the Shadomaster is much greater in terms of making angular readings, measuring diameters, and magnification than the domestic products. These characteristics are considered significant in the use of such instruments."

"After careful consideration, the Department is of the opinion that at the time the University of South Dakota determined its requirements and specifications for an optical measuring projector, no instrument of equivalent scientific value was available from domestic producers of this instrument."

In the circumstances the Committee on Finance, like the Committee on Ways and Means of the House, is of the opinion that

this legislation is meritorious and consistent with prior legislation of this nature, and recommend its enactment.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, that completes the call of the calendar.

**COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION**

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, the Committee on Public Works and the Employment and Manpower Subcommittee of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare were authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

**LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS**

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, statements during the transaction of routine morning business were ordered limited to 3 minutes.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to violate the order limiting statements during routine morning business to 3 minutes, and to proceed for an additional 3 minutes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the request of the Senator is granted.

**VIETNAM: LEAKS FROM ANONYMOUS OFFICIAL SOURCES**

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, stories attributed to unnamed "U.S. officials" have been appearing in the press, to the effect that the war in Vietnam does not necessarily have to end in a negotiated settlement. The unnamed officials want to be sure, apparently, that the public understands that there is an alternative to negotiations. What these officials suggest, as the alternative, amounts to a total military solution, with the Vietcong being driven into a state of nonexistence.

This thesis is valid as a basis for college discussion. It is valid as a subject for consideration in the classified recesses of the Executive branch of the Government. It is not valid, however, as a "leak" from anonymous official sources, leaving the strong impression that the policy of seeking negotiations is all but abandoned and we are about to adopt a new one. Indeed, one newspaper carried a banner headline on the basis of this leak: "U.S. Now Sees Vietnam Victory by Force of Arms." The impression left by the story is clear: It is that the doctrine of "unconditional negotiations" is about to be replaced by the doctrine of unconditional triumph as official policy. Whether that is accurate or not, is beside the point. Whether it is a practical possibility is beside the point.

The point is that official United States policy on Vietnam, as enunciated time and again by the President, is and remains one of seeking an honorable negotiated end to the conflict as quickly as possible. The President's policy—and it is the only official policy of this Government—is not to prove the theoretical possibility that a war of attrition without

negotiation can end in a triumph in 1, 5, 10, or 15 years.

The point is, too, that it is not college students or professors without responsibility for official policy who are advancing this concept; it is not the press or political leaders out of office and without official responsibilities; it is not the Representatives or Senators, who have independent constitutional responsibilities, who are discussing this alternative policy. Rather, it is anonymous "U.S. officials" who can have no responsibilities except official responsibilities in these matters; it is U.S. officials who are not privileged to speak on policy outside of the walls of the Executive branch except as they express the official policy of the United States as enunciated by the President and under his direction, and with his approval. For them to speak otherwise, even anonymously, is to imply strongly that the President of the United States so thinks.

Now, it is true that these official sources were at pains to make it clear that they support the President's policy of seeking an end to the Vietnamese conflict by negotiations, even as they advance an alternative approach of a solution by attrition. Well, if they are supporting the President's policy, why do they insist upon remaining unnamed? Why, then, do they hesitate to attach their names to that which they are discussing with the press?

Indeed, who are these official but unnamed sources? As one Senator, I would like to know in order to estimate the significance of the story, in order to know what to tell my constituents when they inquire as to the Nation's policies respecting Vietnam. Are these officials in the White House? Are they in the Defense Department? The State Department? The CIA? Or are they scattered throughout the executive branch? Is it the head of a department who advances this new concept of Vietnamese policy? Or is it a chairwarmer at a southeast Asia desk somewhere or a guard at the front door of the Pentagon or the State Department?

Whoever they may be, one thing is certain about these unnamed official sources. They are most irresponsible sources, in a situation in which the utmost of responsibility is vital, and I use the word vital, rarely and most advisedly. Here, we have almost 150,000 men in Vietnam; the number is going up steadily and the end is not yet in sight. The President has made it clear, not once but a dozen times, that he seeks an end to the Vietnamese conflict through negotiations, and that negotiations as soon as possible are in the interest of this Nation and of all concerned. That is his policy; that is U.S. official policy—period.

In these circumstances, for an unnamed official source to engage in an idle discussion—if that is what it was—of an alternative policy of triumph by attrition, is, to say the least, a breach of trust. With the President in the hospital it is, indeed, an inexcusable breach of trust.

So I would say to these anonymous officials: You are appointed officials of this Government. Your function is not to

speculate to the press on the President's policy. Much less is it your function to advance publicly alternatives to his policies, even under the anonymous cloak of "official sources." Your function is to advise the President and carry out, in good faith, foreign policies which he makes in accord with constitutional processes. Any other course, particularly in the critical Vietnamese situation, is an invitation to a lengthening of the casualty lists, to the most serious difficulties and division at home and to disaster in our relations with the rest of the world.

That ought to be understood without the saying by every appointed official of the Government. The recent rash of anonymous official speculation on Vietnam, however, makes it clear that it needs to be said.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD, nine excerpts from the President's statement to the press on July 28, 1965, articles and editorials on this subject.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

1

Second, once the Communists know, as we know, that a violent solution is impossible, then a peaceful solution is inevitable. We are ready now, as we have always been, to move from the battlefield to the conference table.

I have stated publicly and many times, again and again, America's willingness to begin unconditional discussions with any Government at any place at any time.

Fifteen efforts have been made to start these discussions, with the help of 40 nations throughout the world. But there has been no answer. But we are going to continue to persist, if persist we must, until death and desolation have led to the same conference table where others could now join us at a much smaller cost.

\* \* \* \*

2

I have spoken many times of our objectives in Vietnam. So has the Government of South Vietnam. Hanoi has set forth its own proposals. We are ready to discuss their proposals and our proposals and any proposals of any Government whose people may be affected, for we fear the meeting room no more than we fear the battlefield. And in this pursuit we welcome, and we ask for the concern and the assistance of any nation and all nations.

\* \* \* \*

3

And if the United Nations and its officials or any one of its 114 members can by deed or word, private initiative or public action, bring us nearer an honorable peace, then they will have the support and gratitude of the United States of America.

\* \* \* \*

4

I've directed Ambassador Goldberg to go to New York today and to present immediately to Secretary General U Thant a letter from me requesting that all the resources and the energy and the immense prestige of the United Nations be employed to find ways to halt aggression and to bring peace in Vietnam.

\* \* \* \*

5

But we insist and we will always insist that the people of South Vietnam shall have the right of choice, the right to shape their own destiny in free elections in the South or

throughout all Vietnam under international supervision, and they shall not have any Government imposed upon them by force and terror so long as we can prevent it.

As I just said, I hope that every member of the United Nations that has any idea or any plan, any program, any suggestion, that they will not let them go unexplored.

And as I have said so many times, if anyone questions our good faith and will ask us to meet them to try to reason this matter out, they will find us at the appointed place, the appointed time and the proper chair.

A. I have made very clear in my San Francisco speech my hope that the Secretary General under his wise leadership would explore every possibility that might lead to a solution of this matter. In my letter to the Secretary General this morning which Ambassador Goldberg will deliver later in the day, I reiterate my hopes and my desires and I urge upon him that he—if he agrees—that he undertake new efforts in this direction.

Ambassador Goldberg understands the challenge. We spent the weekend talking about the potentialities and the possibilities, our hopes and our dreams, and I believe that we will have an able advocate and a searching negotiator who, I would hope, could someday find success.

A. We have stated time and time again that we would negotiate with any Government, any time, any place. The Vietcong would have no difficulty in being represented and having their views presented if Hanoi for a moment decides that she wants to cease aggression, and I would not think that would be an insurmountable problem at all. I think that could be worked out.

[From the St. Louis (Mo.) Post-Dispatch, Oct. 17, 1965]

STRATEGY CHANGE IN VIETNAM—BELIEF GROWING THAT LARGE-SCALE U.S. EFFORT MAY SUCCEED SOON

(By Richard Dudman)

WASHINGTON, October 16.—The outlines of a new strategy in Vietnam are emerging as the influx of massive American military strength begins to take effect.

In its simplest terms, the new strategy calls for the use of large amounts of American men and guns to win a military victory in the south.

Some spectacular successes have changed the official atmosphere from the pessimism of 6 months ago, when the American effort faced imminent military defeat, to a growing conviction that the back of the insurgency can be broken in the foreseeable future, possibly within months.

Even the failures have helped promote the emerging strategy. The lesson many planners drew this week, when 2,000 Vietcong slipped out of a trap sprung by combined American and South Vietnamese forces, was: Secrecy is better kept when the Americans go it alone.

The successes have strengthened the position of the so-called war hawks—those who never had much use for "special warfare" and counterinsurgency techniques, who wanted to bomb North Vietnam or even China years ago, who have regretted President Lyndon B. Johnson's offers to negotiate, and who believe that peace talks now would lead to a neutralist South Vietnam instead of the anti-Communist bastion they see as a possibility.

The "relatively benign policy of counterinsurgency" must be put aside for the time being, in the words of a policy paper being circulated at high levels in the administration.

As reliance on armed force increases, less is heard about the winning of the hearts and minds of the population.

Officials no longer are reluctant to talk about American use of napalm, tear gas, and crop-destroying aerial sprays. Six months ago, if they were discussed at all it was to emphasize how little they were being used.

Despite efforts to avoid injuring civilians in the fight against the Vietcong, women and children and old men are inevitably among the victims of a war fought increasingly with heavy bombs and artillery.

A new defense of this strategy is being heard in Washington. Critics are being assured that surveys of civilian populations subjected to air attacks show that they blame the war in general for their suffering rather than the particular nation that is doing the bombing.

One student of civilian behavior, arguing in support of the enlarged war in Vietnam, contends that the rape of a single Vietnamese woman by an American soldier causes far more resentment against the United States than does the destruction of an entire village.

Less is heard, too, about a negotiated settlement. When the outlook was black, the administration was nagging potential go-betweens in Communist and neutralist countries to try to persuade North Vietnam to come to the conference table.

Now that the military situation appears brighter, officials are emphasizing that negotiation with the Communists is not the only likely solution.

Officials pointed out this week that the problem could also be solved by an unannounced slowing down of North Vietnamese assistance and Vietcong activity in the south.

The outcome thus need not follow the pattern of the Indochina war or the Algerian revolution, with their formal peace talks between the insurgents and the French. Instead, it could follow the examples of Greece and the Philippines after World War II, when both nations successfully resisted Communist-led insurrections.

In Greece, the officials pointed out, the Communists simply were worn down and eventually retreated into Bulgaria. The implication was that the Communist-led forces in South Vietnam might be worn down eventually and caused to retreat into North Vietnam.

President Johnson has by no means bought the entire hard line. He has not accepted the formula attributed to the new Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, William F. Raborn, Jr.—"a Rotterdam policy in the north and a Dominican policy in the south." Raborn is said to have explained that this meant saturation bombing of Hanoi and sending into South Vietnam five times as many troops as seemed necessary.

Bombers attacking the north have kept clear of the Hanoi area, where there would be a chance of direct military confrontation with the Soviet Union. Russian-built missiles, which are concentrated around the North Vietnamese capital, have shot down five American planes in the last 4 months.

The American troop buildup has reached 145,000 and is expected to reach 200,000 eventually. Some military leaders speak of a million-man American force, but others scoff at that figure. American troops in the Korean war numbered about 250,000.

A measure of the buildup is the weekly casualty figure. Fifty-eight Americans were

killed in action in Vietnam last week. Total American casualties rose to 806 hostile deaths, 309 nonhostile deaths, 4,259 wounded in action, 76 missing in action, and 21 detained by the enemy.

Strategists generally avoid the term "victory," although in recent weeks that is clearly what some of them have had in mind.

They base their present optimism on the apparent ability of the increased manpower and firepower to defeat the Vietcong any time the Reds stand still for a fight in regimental or division strength. The war had been going in the direction of big-unit engagements, and the South Vietnamese Army was in serious trouble until bolstered by American combat troops.

The immediate task, therefore, is to pound and kill and harry the Vietcong's main force until it gives up or, more likely, breaks up into small guerrilla bands to continue the fighting without affording a good target.

Once the Vietcong have been forced to return to guerrilla warfare, it is thought here, the insurgency will be close to defeat. The shift will mean breaking up elaborate supply lines for weapons and supplies, going back to using homemade or captured American arms, and, worst of all, admitting to the Vietcong rank-and-file that there will not be a quick victory after all.

The strategy paper mentioned earlier says that there are three possible outcomes from the American point of view—defeat, a stalemate, or victory. It says that a stalemate would be the hardest to achieve. The implication is that victory should be the goal.

One policymaker who holds that view makes the further point that victory is possible once the United States has forced the Vietcong to return to guerrilla warfare.

He reasons that guerrilla wars invariably are won or lost, that they never end in a draw. A ceasefire would mean that the Vietcong would promptly lose all the gray areas, the territory where it can operate but cannot make a permanent stand. The reason, he says, is that the Vietnamese Army would use a ceasefire to clean out any guerrillas remaining in such areas.

Those who see the new strategy in these terms contend that progress cannot be measured merely in enemy casualties. They call an operation a success even if it results in few Vietcong bodies, because the objective is not so much to kill the enemy as to harass him and prove to him that his war is unprofitable.

They insist also that the bombing of North Vietnam is hurting the Hanoi regime seriously and must be continued with no letup.

This analysis rests on some broad assumptions, which may or may not stand up.

It assumes that the Vietcong lack the resiliency to return to guerrilla warfare and go on effectively with the kind of fighting that took the British 10 years to suppress in Malaya.

It assumes also that American powerplanes crisscrossing the country and bombs pounding guerrilla hiding places—can make a country almost as big as Missouri an impossible place to operate.

On the political side, it assumes that the government of Gen. Nguyen Cao Ky, the chief of the Vietnamese air force, represents a new breed of leaders, able at last to inspire the people with a revolutionary spirit that will unify them in the fight.

Finally, this analysis assumes that favorable results will come very soon. President Johnson would find it embarrassing to go to the country seeking reelection in 1968 with a stalemated war still on his hands, and the ever-larger conflict could well be an issue in the congressional elections next year.

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Sun, Oct. 15, 1965]

UNITED STATES NOW SEES VIETNAM VICTORY BY FORCE OF ARMS—TROOPS FULL BACK AFTER OFFENSIVES—DRAFT CALL RISES—WASHINGTON SUGGESTS A NEGOTIATED TRUCE IS NOT ONLY SOLUTION—MILITARY DEFEAT OF VIETCONG SIMILAR TO THAT SUFFERED BY REDS IN GREECE IS PICTURED—REBEL AREA REPORTEDLY NEUTRALIZED

TOYKO, October 14.—Chen Yi, Red China's Foreign Minister, has declared his country will not seek a compromise with the United States and will struggle until America is defeated.

"China with her 650 million people has the courage to run risks in order to thoroughly defeat U.S. imperialism," he said, "to seek compromise with U.S. imperialism instead of opposing it would be to end up as shamefully as the Chiang Kai-shek [of Nationalist China] reactionaries and the Khrushchev revisionists."

#### POLICY

(By Albert Schlesinger, Jr.)

WASHINGTON, October 14.—U.S. officials said today that a solution to the Vietnam situation could come about not only through negotiations but also by a gradual reduction of Communist guerrilla aggression.

This observation suggested that the combined military strength of the United States, South Vietnam, and their allies could reduce the power of the Vietcong to a level of ineffectiveness.

Officials pointed out that there had been some discussion in the press which left an impression that negotiation with the Communists would be the only likely solution to the Vietnam problem.

#### SIMILAR SITUATIONS RECALLED

Today, these officials said it was important to keep in mind that there was another way to solve the problem, which would come about by a reduction in the efforts of the Vietcong to subvert South Vietnam.

Such was the case in Greece and the Philippines after World War II when both nations successfully resisted Communist insurgents' efforts to seize control.

In Greece, for example, the Communists were simply worn down and eventually retreated into Bulgaria.

So, too, it was implied today, the Communist guerrillas in South Vietnam might be worn down eventually and retreat into North Vietnam or other parts of Asia controlled by the Reds.

#### NEGOTIATIONS STILL SOUGHT

However, officials here emphasized that the United States is still anxious to negotiate in Vietnam and is not leaning toward a more militant approach to a solution of the south-east Asian affair.

These officials also made it clear that the United States is in a much better position to negotiate than it had been in the past.

American strength in South Vietnam has reached 145,000, the draft is being greatly increased at home and selected National Guard and Reserve units totaling 150,000 men are being brought to an increased state of readiness.

Furthermore, the expected monsoon offensive of the Vietcong has been blunted this summer. It had been feared that the guerrillas, taking advantage of bad flying weather for American aircraft, would mount large-scale attacks against South Vietnamese and American defenses.

While the failure of this expected offensive is encouraging, U.S. officials made it clear that the defeat of the guerrilla force, num-

bering perhaps 230,000 men, is far from achievement.

Pacification of the countryside is the objective, and no extensive area of South Vietnam under Vietcong control has yet been pacified.

Pacification is defined as putting a powerful allied force in a Vietcong area for that length of time that would be required to reinstitute the economy of the region, and assure the safety of the people to such a degree that the military units could then move out.

That kind of operation is not only ambitious but requires cooperation with other elements of the Government to build up the faith of the people in the Saigon regime to the extent that those people believe the Government is capable of protecting them against the Vietcong.

Such a result is not achieved in a day or a week.

[From the New York Times, Oct. 17, 1965]

#### THE WORLD: VIETNAM BALANCE SHEET

Optimism has always been more prevalent—and far more popular—than pessimism among the American community in Vietnam. Yet there have been many signs that the long-range trend of the war against the Communists has been inexorably unfavorable and that short-term, present trends should be viewed within that context.

In 1962, for example, the regular "hard core" Vietcong guerrilla force was estimated at about 18,000 men. Today it is estimated at about 75,000 men.

In April of 1963 American generals were saying that the war would be won within a year, and by late summer Defense Secretary Robert McNamara said that all American troops could be withdrawn by the end of 1965.

In early 1964 the Americans chose to make populous Longan Province, just south of Saigon, a model or test case of anti-Communist pacification methods. The program has since been shelved and the Vietcong are still strong in Longan. Pacification is what one American calls the "nasty, gutty business" of securing a territory from which the Vietcong are dislodged and making sure they do not filter back as strong as ever.

The present military trends, on the other hand, are unquestionably favorable. Between December of last year and June of this year the Vietcong had staged at least a dozen regimental-sized attacks. But with the arrival of more and more American troops, and improved morale and performance of South Vietnamese forces, the Vietcong have become much more cautious and have seldom massed in regiments.

U.S. strength in South Vietnam now is nearly 145,000 men (an increase of 115,000 since President Johnson first made his "unconditional discussions" offer last April) and is expected to jump to 200,000 by the end of the year. As part of its general build up of the Armed Forces as a consequence of the Vietnam commitment, the Defense Department last week ordered a military draft call of 45,224 men for December, the biggest quota since the Korean war.

The technology and skill of American air power have neutralized most Vietnamese Government mistakes and penalized most Vietcong attempts at aggressive action.

However, in recent weeks there have also been a few disturbing factors. In one 4-day period the Vietcong staged three ambushes of American units, and while all three were small affairs and while the Americans generally reacted well, the guerrillas showed that this favorite trick against South Vietnamese troops could work against Americans, too.

Three weeks ago the Vietcong did mass in regimental size in Binh dinh Province, in central South Vietnam, and began a battle which has raged off and on ever since. Per-

haps as many as five battalions of crack troops came out to fight despite the threat of air power and huge allied task forces.

The difficulties of pinning down the Vietcong were evident in the Binh dinh operations last week. For 5 days 8,000 Americans and at least 4,000 Government troops—described as the biggest United States-Vietnamese ground assault force of the war—pursued a large Vietcong unit and a regular North Vietnamese Army regiment said to be in Suai Valley. But by the time the allied force swept through the area the North Vietnamese were nowhere to be seen and most of the Vietcong had slipped into the hills. Only a small number of guerrillas were reported killed.

Assessments of how badly the Vietcong have been hurt in recent weeks depend on how literally casualty estimates issued by officials in Saigon are taken. Though there is little doubt that the Vietcong have suffered serious losses, a senior and well-informed source said, "We think they have been able to reconstitute most of those losses within South Vietnam"—that is, through new recruitment and conscription rather than primarily through mass infiltration of new units of the North Vietnamese regular army.

An optimistic appraisal by an expert is that it will take at least a year of continued American military initiatives before the Vietcong will be hurt enough to allow a "real" rural pacification program to begin, and that such a program will take at least 2 years before its succeeds.

Accordingly, while recent political trends have been favorable, they are so only in a relative, limited sense. Prime Minister Nguyen Cao Ky, the 35-year-old commander of the air force, has increasingly impressed American officials with his ability, candor, and intellectual honesty. There is no sign of disintegration in the present military government.

As for prospects for a negotiated settlement, nothing in the present situation offers much realistic hope. One student of North Vietnam commented that the revolutionary heroes of the Hanoi regime remain stubbornly convinced that the methods and principles which defeated the French in Indochina will again prevail.

This view seemed to be borne out by the negative results of Washington's intensive 10-week diplomatic effort to draw the Communists to the conference table. Hanoi was reported last week to have shown no interest whatsoever in third-party soundings to the effect that the Johnson administration was interested in a tacit or explicit agreement to reduce the fighting. The administration was said to be virtually resigned to failure of the peace offensive, and many officials in Washington now believe a long and costly military campaign is necessary before diplomats can try again.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Oct. 15, 1965]

#### THE LONG ROAD

The only limited success won by the American-South Vietnamese attempt to trap a large body of Communist elite troops contains a hard but probably needed lesson. The fact that most of the North Vietnamese force was able to slip away from so formidable and elaborate a trap is a reminder that no early and decisive military victory can be expected.

True, the situation in Vietnam is gratifyingly better today than most observers thought possible 6 months ago. The monsoon season passed without the dreaded Vietcong victory and a South Vietnamese defeat. Indeed, the inflow of American military strength helped reverse the trend of war so strikingly that the monsoon season actually turned into a period of unusually heavy Communist losses.

It is apparent, however, that, although improved, the situation is still far from ideal. The jungles, paddies, swamps, and fields of South Vietnam swarm with tough, dedicated, ably trained guerrillas. Some of these operate in small groups of a half-dozen or so. Others exist in battalion and perhaps even regimental strength. They are supported by a network of local sympathizers and spies who provide them with eyes everywhere.

Thus, to date, little more has been achieved than to blunt the Vietcong-North Vietnamese effort to move from guerrilla to open warfare. The Communist guerrilla potential remains high. So, to a considerable degree, the situation is merely back to where it was a few years ago.

It may not, of course, stay there. American military might is so stupendous—even when utilized under such difficult conditions as jungle warfare—that it is difficult to believe that it will not be able to overbear any conceivable resistance.

Yet, even at best, such a military victory would be a long and costly task. And it is well for the American people to realize this fact. The United States can take satisfaction that it has well begun the hard task of helping save a small and doughty ally from Communist aggression. But in this sentence the operative word is begun.

Perhaps the greatest hope still resides in the possibility that both North Vietnam and the Vietcong will slowly but surely be brought to see that victory cannot be theirs. If the road before Washington and Saigon is still long and hard, it is even more so before both Hanoi and the Vietcong. It is because of this that Washington should be indefatigable in offering peace and in encouraging the United Nations to seek means of bringing all concerned to the negotiation table.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I commend the majority leader for his very forceful statement condemning the practice of persons making vital statements concerning the Nation and asking that they be referred to as "unidentified" or "unnamed" officials. There is no more sinister method of poisoning the minds of citizens than the technique of "it is officially reported" but the official involved is not willing to be named.

I commend the Senator for speaking out on this subject. It is idle for me to say that the time is at hand when we should begin to worry about the security of our country, if ever it was necessary, and to speak the truth and allow the public to know who the persons are making these condemnations so that the people can evaluate the reliability or the credibility of the officials to whom the statements are attributed.

I am sure that there is not a single Member of the Senate who has not been through the ordeal of being referred to by unidentified sources.

What kind of proof is that? Yet, that is the kind of material which is being fed to the people of the Nation. We must not tolerate it any longer.

Yesterday, I pointed out that there was in my office a Lieutenant Kapelka who was summoned to go to South Vietnam. There he sat, in front of me, approximately 28 years old. He said, "I have no hesitation in going to Vietnam. I am prepared to go, but I cannot stand the denunciations and the demonstrations which are endangering the lives of our soldiers and sailors in southeast Asia."

The Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] made a statement that these

beatniks and demonstrators, many of them innocently led by skillful Communists, do not know what they are doing. They are probably putting a noose around their own necks. Certainly they are endangering the lives of our men in southeast Asia who will have to engage in protracted fighting because the North Vietnamese, the Red Chinese and the Russians will feel, "We have them on the run. Demonstrations are occurring in Washington, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Berkeley, which means that they do not have the will to defend their Nation."

Of course, that is exactly what it means.

I again congratulate the Senator from Montana on the fine leadership he has displayed yesterday and today on this subject.

#### ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The VICE PRESIDENT announced that he signed the following enrolled bills, which had previously been signed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives:

On Monday, October 18, 1965:

H.R. 5457. An act for the relief of Maria del Rosario de Fatima Lopez Hayes;  
 H.R. 5554. An act for the relief of Mary Frances Crabbs;  
 H.R. 5904. An act for the relief of Nam Ie Kim;  
 H.R. 6229. An act for the relief of Kim Sun Ho;  
 H.R. 6235. An act for the relief of Chun Soo Kim;  
 H.R. 6819. An act for the relief of Dr. Orhan Metin Ozmat;  
 H.R. 7707. An act to authorize the appointment of clerk-law clerks by district judges;

H.R. 7888. An act providing for the extension of patent No. D-119,187;

H.R. 8360. An act for the relief of the successors in interest of Cooper Blyth and Grace Johnston Blyth otherwise Grace McCloy Blyth;

H.R. 8457. An act for the relief of Robert G. Mikulecky;

H.R. 9220. An act making appropriations for certain civil functions administered by the Department of Defense, and Panama Canal, certain agencies of the Department of the Interior, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Saint Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation, the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Delaware River Basin Commission, and the Intercoastal Canal Commission, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 9521. An act for the relief of Clarence Earl Davis.

On Tuesday, October 19, 1965:

H.R. 1311. An act for the relief of Joseph J. McDevitt;

H.R. 1319. An act for the relief of Joseph Durante;

H.R. 1409. An act for the relief of Louis W. Hann;

H.R. 1644. An act for the relief of 1st Lt. Robert B. Gann and others;

H.R. 1836. An act for the relief of Constantinos Aggaris;

H.R. 2005. An act for the relief of Miss Gloria Seborg;

H.R. 2285. An act for the relief of Mrs. Concetta Cloff Carson;

H.R. 2557. An act for the relief of Frank Simms;

H.R. 2757. An act for the relief of Maria Alexandros Slagris;

H.R. 2853. An act to amend title 17, United States Code, with relation to the fees to be charged;

H.R. 3288. An act for the relief of Hwang Tal Shik;  
 H.R. 3615. An act for the relief of Mary Ann Hartmann;  
 H.R. 3669. An act for the relief of Emilia Majka;

H.R. 3770. An act for the relief of certain individuals employed by the Department of the Navy at the Pacific Missile Range, Point Mugu, Calif.;

H.R. 4078. An act for the relief of William L. Minton;

H.R. 4187. An act for the relief of Dr. Jan Rosolszewski;

H.R. 4194. An act for the relief of Angelica Anagnostopoulos;

H.R. 4203. An act for the relief of Alton G. Edwards;

H.R. 4464. An act for the relief of Michael Hadjichristofas, Aphrodite Hadjichristofas, and Paniote Hadjichristofas;

H.R. 5167. An act to amend title 38 of the United States Code to authorize the administrative settlement of tort claims arising in foreign countries, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 9526. An act for the relief of Raffaella Achilli.

#### APPOINTMENTS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT

The VICE PRESIDENT. Pursuant to Senate Resolution 145, the Chair appoints the following Senators as members of a delegation to attend parliamentary conferences at Tokyo and New Delhi, to be held from November 24 to December 21: WAYNE MORSE, Chairman; FRANK J. LAUSCHE; FRANK CHURCH; QUENTIN N. BURDICK; ALAN BIBLE; B. EVERETT JORDAN; WINSTON L. PROUTY; and PETER H. DOMINICK.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

#### REPORT ON REAPPORTIONMENT OF AN APPROPRIATION

A letter from the Director, Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office of the President, reporting, pursuant to law, that the appropriation to the Department of Commerce for "Salaries and expenses, Coast and Geodetic Survey," for the fiscal year 1966, had been apportioned on a basis which indicates the necessity for a supplemental estimate of appropriation; to the Committee on Appropriations.

#### REPORT ON FINAL SETTLEMENT OF CLAIMS OF CERTAIN INDIANS

A letter from the Chief Commissioner, Indian Claims Commission, Washington, D.C., reporting, pursuant to law, on the final settlement of the claims of certain Indians, which (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Appropriations.

#### REPORT ON PROPERTY ACQUISITIONS OF EMERGENCY SUPPLIES AND EQUIPMENT

A letter from the Director of Civil Defense, Department of the Army, reporting, pursuant to law, on property acquisitions of emergency supplies and equipment, for the quarter ended September 30, 1965; to the Committee on Armed Services.

#### DEDUCTION OF CERTAIN COSTS FROM RENTAL COLLECTIONS ON PROPERTY ACQUIRED UNDER VETERANS' LOAN PROGRAMS

A letter from the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, Veterans' Administration, Washington, D.C., transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to permit de-

duction by brokers of certain costs and expenses from rental collections on properties acquired under the veterans' loan programs (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Finance.

#### REPORT ON DISPOSAL OF FOREIGN EXCESS PROPERTY

A letter from the Acting Administrator, Federal Aviation Agency, Washington, D.C., reporting, pursuant to law, on the disposal of foreign excess property, during fiscal year 1965; to the Committee on Government Operations.

#### ELECTION OF GOVERNOR OF GUAM

A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to provide for the popular election of the Governor of Guam, and for other purposes (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

#### REPORT ON FINAL SETTLEMENT OF CLAIMS OF CERTAIN INDIANS

A letter from the Chief Commissioner, Indian Claims Commission, Washington, D.C., reporting, pursuant to law, on the final settlement of the claims of certain Indians (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

#### REPORT ON TORT CLAIMS PAID BY U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

A letter from the Director, U.S. Information Agency, Washington, D.C., transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on tort claims paid by the Agency, during fiscal year 1965 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

#### REPORT ON VISA PETITIONS APPROVED ACCORDING FIRST PREFERENCE TO CERTAIN ALIENS

A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, transmitting, pursuant to law, reports concerning visa petitions approved according the beneficiaries of such petitions first preference classification to certain aliens (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

#### CONVENTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, Department of State, transmitting, for the information of the Senate, conventions and recommendations adopted by the International Labor Conference, at Geneva, on July 8, 1964 (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

#### DISPOSITION OF EXECUTIVE PAPERS

A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a list of papers and documents on the files of several departments and agencies of the Government which are not needed in the conduct of business and have no permanent value or historical interest, and requesting action looking to their disposition (with accompanying papers); to a Joint Select Committee on the Disposition of Papers in the Executive Departments.

The VICE PRESIDENT appointed Mr. MONRONEY and Mr. CARLSON members of the committee on the part of the Senate.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. BARTLETT, from the Committee on Commerce, with amendments:

S. 2471. A bill to improve and clarify certain laws of the Coast Guard (Rept. No. 911).

By Mr. PASTORE, from the Committee on Appropriations, with amendments:

H.R. 11588. An act making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 912).

REPORT OF JOINT COMMITTEE ON  
REDUCTION OF NONESSENTIAL  
FEDERAL EXPENDITURES—FED-  
ERAL EMPLOYMENT AND PAY

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, as chairman of the Joint Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Federal Expenditures, I submit a report on Federal employment and pay for the month of August 1965. In accordance with the practice of several years' standing, I ask unanimous consent to have the report printed in the RECORD, together with a statement by me.

There being no objection, the report and statement were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FEDERAL PERSONNEL IN EXECUTIVE BRANCH,  
AUGUST 1965 AND JULY 1965, AND PAY,  
JULY 1965 AND JUNE 1965

## PERSONNEL AND PAY SUMMARY

(See table I)

Information in monthly personnel reports for August 1965 submitted to the Joint Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Federal Expenditures is summarized as follows:

TABLE I.—Consolidated table of Federal personnel inside and outside the United States employed by the executive agencies during August 1965, and comparison with July 1965, and pay for July 1965, and comparison with June 1965

Total and major categories	Civilian personnel in executive branch			Payroll (in thousands) in executive branch		
	In August numbered	In July numbered	Increase (+) or decrease (-)	In July was—	In June was—	Increase (+) or decrease (-)
Total <sup>1,2</sup>	2,549,985	2,542,590	+7,395	\$1,494,442	\$1,465,274	+\$29,168
Agencies exclusive of Department of Defense	1,494,732	1,497,003	-2,271	885,557	852,231	+\$33,326
Department of Defense	1,056,263	1,045,587	+9,666	608,885	613,043	-4,158
Inside the United States	2,388,115	2,386,976	+1,139	—	—	—
Outside the United States	161,870	155,614	+6,266	—	—	—
Industrial employment	559,414	556,450	+2,964	—	—	—
Foreign nationals	129,588	130,110	-531	26,678	25,798	+\$80

<sup>1</sup> Exclusive of foreign nationals shown in the last line of this summary.<sup>2</sup> Includes employment under the President's Youth Opportunity Campaign.

Table I breaks down the above figures on employment and pay by agencies.

Table II breaks down the above employment figures to show the number inside the United States by agencies.

Table III breaks down the above employ-

ment figures to show the number outside the United States by agencies.

Table IV breaks down the above employment figures to show the number in industrial-type activities by agencies.

Table V shows foreign nationals by agencies not included in tables I, II, III, and IV.

TABLE I.—Consolidated table of Federal personnel inside and outside the United States employed by the executive agencies during August 1965, and comparison with July 1965, and pay for July 1965, and comparison with June 1965

Department or agency	Personnel				Pay (in thousands)			
	August	July	Increase	Decrease	July	June	Increase	Decrease
Executive Departments (except Defense):								
Agriculture	115,062	117,481	—	2,419	\$65,447	\$62,233	\$3,214	—
Commerce	34,421	33,824	597	—	24,292	23,662	630	—
Health, Education, and Welfare	90,514	90,311	203	—	52,461	51,198	1,263	—
Interior	71,108	71,664	—	556	45,087	43,307	1,780	—
Justice	33,299	33,482	—	153	24,524	24,465	59	—
Labor	9,405	9,562	—	157	6,887	6,789	68	—
Post Office	610,146	605,721	4,425	—	323,468	311,190	12,278	—
State <sup>1,2</sup>	40,986	40,975	11	—	24,497	25,608	—	\$1,111
Treasury	90,090	90,884	—	794	65,446	64,424	11,022	—
Executive Office of the President:								
White House Office	319	328	—	9	288	257	11	—
Bureau of the Budget	533	548	—	15	558	528	30	—
Council of Economic Advisers	44	58	—	14	50	47	3	—
Executive Mansion and Grounds	71	71	—	—	43	54	—	11
National Aeronautics and Space Council	26	27	—	1	34	34	—	—
National Council on the Arts	3	3	—	—	14	4	10	—
National Security Council	39	39	—	—	38	38	—	—
Office of Economic Opportunity	1,362	1,338	24	—	1,063	1,314	—	261
Office of Emergency Planning	372	388	—	16	365	363	2	—
Office of Science and Technology	129	55	74	—	42	51	—	9
Office of the Special Representative for Trade Negotiations	27	27	—	—	32	30	2	—
President's Committee on Consumer Interests	14	18	—	4	18	11	2	—
President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing	11	12	—	1	10	10	—	—
President's Council on Equal Opportunity	22	23	—	1	17	15	2	—
Independent agencies:								
Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations	25	26	—	—	24	24	—	—
American Battle Monuments Commission	456	444	12	—	95	90	5	—
Appalachian Regional Commission	8	7	1	—	19	14	5	—
Atomic Energy Commission	7,354	7,430	—	78	6,502	6,377	125	—
Battle of New Orleans Sesquicentennial Celebration Commission	1	1	—	—	(1)	(1)	—	—
Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System	676	672	4	—	499	486	13	—
Civil Aeronautics Board	825	839	—	14	767	758	9	—
Civil Service Commission	3,808	3,788	22	—	2,781	2,753	—	22
Civil War Centennial Commission	3	3	—	—	2	1	—	4
Commission of Fine Arts	4	6	—	2	5	5	—	—
Commission on Civil Rights	114	116	—	2	76	74	2	—
Delaware River Basin Commission	2	2	—	—	3	3	—	—
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission	79	56	23	—	37	8	29	—
Export-Import Bank of Washington	304	309	—	5	249	242	7	—
Farm Credit Administration	234	233	1	—	198	190	8	—
Federal Aviation Agency	45,131	45,332	—	201	37,938	36,108	1,230	—
Federal Coal Mine Safety Board of Review	7	6	1	—	5	6	—	1
Federal Communications Commission	1,541	1,550	—	9	1,225	1,226	—	—
Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation	1,527	1,555	—	28	1,079	1,049	30	—
Federal Field Committee for Development Planning in Alaska	3	3	—	—	5	5	—	—
Federal Home Loan Bank Board	1,260	1,302	—	33	997	988	9	—
Federal Maritime Commission	252	249	3	—	217	216	1	—
Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service	422	422	—	—	427	438	—	11
Federal Power Commission	1,141	1,179	—	38	946	935	11	—
Federal Radiation Council	4	4	—	—	5	5	—	—
Federal Trade Commission	1,165	1,158	7	—	973	970	3	—
Foreign Claims Settlement Commission	177	182	—	5	128	114	14	—
General Accounting Office	4,266	4,288	—	17	3,267	3,199	58	—
General Services Administration	38,385	38,471	—	86	20,049	19,609	250	—
Government Printing Office	7,411	7,392	19	—	5,281	5,062	169	—
Housing and Home Finance Agency	13,780	13,820	—	40	9,783	9,770	—	17
Indian Claims Commission	19	19	—	—	23	23	—	—
Interstate Commerce Commission	2,399	2,423	—	24	1,930	1,920	10	—
National Aeronautics and Space Administration	34,795	35,224	—	420	29,113	28,736	377	—
National Capital Housing Authority	433	425	8	—	217	223	—	6
National Capital Planning Commission	60	64	—	4	53	53	—	—
National Capital Transportation Agency	33	32	1	—	38	31	2	—
National Commission on Food Marketing	67	68	1	—	53	45	8	—

Footnotes at end of table.

October 19, 1965

26503

pose timely objections on the floor of the Houses if this becomes necessary. I cannot believe that this body would condone such lawless action on the part of a minority of the members of any of its standing committees.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON BANKING  
AND CURRENCY,  
Washington, D.C., October 18, 1965.

## MEMORANDUM

To: Paul Nelson, clerk.  
From: WRIGHT PATMAN, chairman.

Rule I of the Rules of Procedure of the Committee on Banking and Currency for the 89th Congress states that the committee shall meet at 10 a.m. on the first and third Tuesdays of each month unless canceled by the chairman.

The Banking and Currency Committee will not meet on October 19, 1965, which is the third Tuesday in the month.

Since it is customary only when a committee meeting is scheduled to notify the members, it will not be necessary for you to notify the members that the meeting has been canceled.

## DEMONSTRATIONS ON WEEKEND

(Mr. YOUNGER (at the request of Mr. HALL) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, apropos of the demonstrations that were held over the past weekend, it seems to me that the articles written by Reporter Jerry LeBlanc and published in the Evening Outlook of Santa Monica, Calif., should be of interest to every thoughtful person who desires to understand the background for those demonstrations. Mr. LeBlanc joined the extreme left incognito, met and picketed with them, so his articles are from firsthand observation.

The reports were published in a series of 12 articles, which follow:

WRITER INFILTRATES LEFT—"FIRED" REPORTER JOINS REVOLUTIONARY RANKS

(By Jerry LeBlanc)

Two months ago I stripped off my necktie and jacket and stepped into a strange, totally different world.

It is a world peopled with bearded radicals and longhaired social rebels marching against the society most Americans perhaps too blindly take for granted.

From the Watts uprising to the Vietnam protests, wherever the picket signs were paraded, whenever unrest sparked demonstrations, I was with them.

I joined their organizations, their picket lines, strategy sessions, coffee discussions, public forums, parties, and endless committee meetings, and watched as they pressed their cause on every soapbox, and even door to door.

This is the world of the extreme left. I joined these revolutionaries because today more than ever they are making news, and news is the business of a reporter. I went in blindly, objectively, not knowing who I'd meet or what I'd find.

## I BECAME "UNEMPLOYED"

I didn't reveal that I was a reporter on assignment by the Evening Outlook. A newsman on an investigation knows that if he identifies himself as a reporter, or is found out to be one, he is told only what is considered appropriate, or "safe," for him to hear. Only if he can penetrate inside the subject he is investigating, can he learn what really makes it tick.

I had a perfect "cover" to preserve my anonymity, too. The editor "fired" me one day, then quietly reemployed me the next day. As far as everyone inside and outside the paper was concerned, I was no longer on the payroll.

And it helped to take my wife, Renee, along with me at times.

My cover proved its worth later, when I found myself under deep suspicion.

The members of the extreme left that I became acquainted with through the weeks I was with them are not monsters or raving fanatics, and just as surely as every schoolchild believes the Boston Tea Party was a righteous assault against an oppressive enemy, they sincerely believe they are working for justice.

For the most part, I found, the object of their animosity is the U.S. Government and virtually all duly constituted authorities within the country.

## HE'S PROFESSIONAL REVOLUTIONARY

Earlier, I called these people revolutionaries. I did so because that is what they call themselves. One day I asked a fellow committee man what he did for a living.

"I consider myself a professional revolutionary, actually," he replied, "but for a living I do anything: social work, youth work, drive taxi."

Many of the people I encountered are moved by sincere idealism and love for their fellow man.

One night, after I had reached the committee level of the extreme left, a sweet-voiced teenager telephoned me. "I want to join your demonstration," she said, "but my mother won't let me go if we're going to get arrested."

"Don't worry, honey," I told her, "my mother wouldn't let me go either if we were going to do anything that would get us arrested."

A few nights later I was jolted when a man stood up at a meeting and publicly advocated what I consider treason.

## HOW I GOT "IN"

It's easy to enter into this world of revolutionaries, but acceptance in their "in group" is another thing. That investigative agencies of law enforcement bodies have penetrated them is certain, but the revolutionaries accept this with a certain wry humor.

"Our hardest workers are FBI men," one comely female leader, Margaret Thorpe, area organizer for the Students for a Democratic Society, told me with a smile. "Whenever we spot one we load him down with work."

My tenure with the extreme left began on the night of July 9 at 5 Dudley Avenue, Venice, headquarters of the W. E. B. DuBois clubs in southern California.

I just walked into a meeting.

It seemed as good a place as any to start, since I was familiar with the area, and since FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has described the DuBois clubs as Communist born.

## HAAG A GENTLEMAN

I had purposely donned the shabbiest clothes in my limited wardrobe, but by comparison, I was a standout contender for the best dressed award of the night, the only competition in the neatness department coming from John Haag, who was conducting the meeting.

Haag, 34, a Harvard graduate and owner of a coffee house at 7 Dudley Avenue, next door to DuBois headquarters, is chairman of the Los Angeles area DuBois organization—and is possibly one of the most gentlemanly, dedicated men I've ever met.

In addition to his DuBois club activity, I was soon to learn that Haag is a leader of the committee to end the war in Vietnam and an ad hoc committee against police brutality.

And John Haag is a self-declared enemy of the state, if one is to believe a lapel button he wears from time to time.

He is also intelligent and soft spoken, has a talent for poetry and a boundless sympathy for victims of society's ills. And he produces a good cup of coffee.

At that first meeting, I was apparently looked on as being just a curious stranger, but I soon learned that all groups, in the extreme left are wary of possible infiltrators.

## FIRST WARNING COMES

One of the first warnings I received of this came conversationally, it seemed, at a meeting several days later in the middle-class home of an attorney in Burbank.

Myself, Carol Eaton, Morris Moses, Richard Hayden, and the host and hostess, were present. "You know," said Carol Eaton, chairman of the Vietnam protest publicity committee, "DuBois is awfully worried about infiltration. Haag always has to watch out for the FBI, because they're poking their noses into everything Red, particularly something like DuBois, where they're 40 percent Communist."

"Sixty percent," someone corrected.

When I heard those figures, I wondered if they had been tossed out in that casual manner to surprise me and perhaps make me ask questions that would indicate too much curiosity.

I didn't comment on them, and my guess now is that they are far too high.

But not long after this meeting I was confronted directly as a suspected infiltrator.

It happened after a routine session at Haag's Venice coffee house, where I had become a regular visitor. I started to leave and Haag called, "Wait a minute, I'll walk along a ways."

## AN ANSWER NEEDED

We passed several groups of tough-looking Venice denizens clustered outside the DuBois office and on the sidewalk farther down. They all recognized Haag and made room for us to pass.

I got the distinct impression he was ushering me through the groups, and I had heard among snatches of conversation the phrase "paid informer."

But Haag and I talked about Vietnam, society, poetry and the difficulties of operating a beatnik coffee house, until he said what the evidently came with me to say: "I hear the Evening Outlook is looking for someone to infiltrate the club."

I stopped walking. I needed a casual reply, right away.

"That sounds like something they'd do," I said. "I know, because I worked there until I was fired about a month ago."

"Oh?" he questioned, but I was sure he knew that much about me.

"Why would they infiltrate anyway, John?" I asked. "You've got nothing to hide; your meetings are open to the public, aren't they?"

## CONTINUES ACTIVITIES

I wasn't sure right way, but I thought I was in the clear. There was a look of doubt in his eyes and we gradually shifted to another subject.

I made it a point to continue my activity in Venice as though Haag had said nothing which applied to me.

If anyone asked, I told him I was a free lance writer for the classical music magazine Virtuoso and for Reuters Wire Service, which is true.

After that time, I was able to edge into the "in-group," a term the leaders use to differentiate between themselves and the hangers-on.

On the Vietnam protest, I was named to their publicity and literature committees. In the Congress of Unrepresented People I was appointed to the publicity committee and was made a torchlight parade monitor.

The DuBois Club named me cochairman of a special committee to prepare a Watts riot brochure for national distribution.

October 19, 1965

The local scene of mysterious lettered organizations opened to me, SNCC, SDS, SP, SWP, YSA, YPSL, and others began to unravel as:

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Students for a Democratic Society, Socialist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialists of America and Young People's Socialist League.

Amid investigation of the Los Angeles extreme left, I flew to the San Francisco Bay area to view first hand the parallels in operations there, and then I broadened my field into a nationwide probe.

#### POENTIAL IS GREAT

The most obvious goal of the extreme left, I saw, is to form a coalition uniting the ultraliberals, the civil rights fighters, the peace movement, the university rebels and the Socialist leaders.

The potential is great:

From the civil rights workers comes a proven willingness to die for a cause, and many of them, disillusioned with Dixie efforts to correct racial ills, have seized upon the greater idea of changing society itself. University of California rebels, also versed in civil disobedience and teaming with animosity for policemen who took them to jail, contribute numbers to the cause and the challenging spirit of youth.

The pacifists and the disillusioned further enlarge the "antiestablishment" organization.

The ultraliberals and Socialists provide the philosophy, organizational talent, and a long trained core of leaders for this new revolution.

#### COUP EMERGES AS SUPERFRONT FOR PROTESTORS

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Jerry LeBlanc, Evening Outlook staff writer, spent 2 months underground as a member of the extreme left in Los Angeles. This is the second of a series of articles on who the leaders are, what they are attempting to do, and how they are trying to do it.)

(By Jerry LeBlanc)

Early last month, I joined a new leftist organization called the Congress of Unrepresented People (COUP), which unfurled its banner simultaneously in Washington, D.C., and Los Angeles with the battle cry:

"We intend to have a government that truly represents us even if we have to create it for ourselves."

Out of nowhere the organization suddenly appeared in a dozen communities across the Nation and, on the weekend of August 7, while I marched in a demonstration here, 2,000 persons massed in Washington and a tenth of them landed in jail.

Simultaneously, in Berkeley, attempts were made to halt troop trains. In San Francisco hundreds gathered in opposition to their government. At Oakland, San Diego, the United States-Canadian border and other points, COUP staged rallies.

I learned this was only a dress rehearsal of things to come.

I could move without suspicion in COUP—and other organizations of the extreme left—because everyone thought I had been fired by the Evening Outlook. I had been—but what people didn't know was that I had been reemployed immediately on an undercover basis for this special report.

#### IT'S ALL SAME THING

I became deeply involved in COUP. I traced its origin to Berkeley and Washington, and in the end discovered that actually COUP is just another name the extreme left can use.

Membership in the group fans across the broad spectrum of peace groups, free speech champions, civil rights fighters, ad socialist action groups.

The 30-odd men and women who met in Washington early this summer to set up

the framework of the organization at 107 Rhode Island NW., have been involved in virtually every controversial cause of the decade:

The Free Speech Movement, W. E. B. DuBois Clubs, Vietnam Committee, Socialist Party, Communist Party, Students for a Democratic Society, the Anti-House Committee on Un-American Activities movement, pro-Cuba factions, police brutality protests, and many others.

Every cause that tends to undermine existing authority comes within the scope of COUP.

#### COUP ORGANIZATION

It all started not in Washington, but on the Berkeley campus of the University of California last May, I learned.

One night, I sat on the floor at the home of Jimmy Garrett, a personable young Negro whose courage has been tested in the Dixie civil rights frontlines.

I asked him how COUP really began. There were four of us there, awaiting an organizing meeting in his apartment at 3825 Effie Street, Los Angeles.

"Bob Parris and I and a couple of other guys were sitting around like we are, on the campus grass at Berkeley, talking about all the things wrong with society, and we decided to do something about it," Garrett said.

"We decided to try to organize all the disorganized opposition to the Government into a solid front."

Garrett, like Parris, was working for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Parris, also called "Moses," is another battle-scarred veteran of Southern racial clashes.

#### CHANGE SOCIETY

They admit coming away from the civil rights front confused as to where the line is drawn between violence and convinced that society as a whole must be changed, not just Dixie.

Moses went to Washington to organize COUP, while Garrett came here.

Moses says this about Mississippi: "Most liberals think of Mississippi as a cancer \* \* \* but we think (it) an accurate reflection of America's values and morality. Sheriff Rainey is not a freak; he represents the majority. And what he did is related to the napalm bombings of objects in Vietnam."

Garrett echoes this belief. "Not only the Negroes in America are victims of this society," he said. "The whole middle class is trapped the same way. I call it 'slavery with a smile.'"

Prof. Staughton Lynd, of Yale, voiced the COUP idea before the thousands of students assembled for the Berkeley teach-in last May 21.

He congratulated the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs for publication of a diatribe called "The U.S. War in Vietnam," and the DuBois monthly magazine, Insurgent, reprinted Lynd's speech.

#### YALE PROFESSOR

"For the benefit of FBI agents present," the professor said, "let me make it clear that I am not advocating violent overthrow of the U.S. Government."

Laughter exploded. He went on to propose "that there come together in Washington a new Continental Congress, made up on representatives from community unions, freedom parties, and campus groups, which would say in effect: 'This is a desperate situation; our Government no longer represents us. Let us see what needs to be done.' Under its aegis mass civil disobedience could take place. \* \* \*"

#### TWO HUNDRED ARRESTED

It did. Lynd and some 200 other demonstrators were arrested in Washington August 9 at a sit-in at the Capitol. Originally they had planned to storm the House of Representatives and occupy the seats.

Lynd, who has been affiliated with the Progressive Labor Party and the Socialist Workers Party, cited by the Attorney General as subversive, voiced the general sentiment of the movement with:

"I think all of us should search our hearts and souls for the courage and clarity of spirit to go to the White House, to go to the Army Terminal \* \* \* if possible to go to Vietnam and stand in front of the flamethrowers and say, 'If blood must be split, let it be mine. \* \* \*'"

I marched with COUP from South Park in the heart of the Los Angeles Negro district to Exposition Park, where headquarters were set up for a weekend of public workshops, from which were to emerge the people's resolutions and demands for solving their divergent problems.

#### WALKED 30 BLOCKS

Relays of police squad cars ushered 200 of us all the way, and I paced off more than 30 blocks. Having been a committee member from the start, I was made a monitor for the march, wearing a blue arm band and urging stragglers to keep up the pace.

Young students, elderly ladies, bearded radicals, and Negroes joined the parade. We marched along Avalon Boulevard and wherever Negroes gathered they were handed leaflets or a verbal explanation of what COUP stood for.

This was Friday, August 6. Within a week, in an unrelated development, the street was a burning shambles, wrecked by mobs of Watts Negroes running wild in the worst riot in the history of the United States.

When our marching group arrived at Exposition Park, John Haag of the DuBois Clubs was introduced as chairman for the evening. Carl Biccic of the Communist-line People's World newspaper and Jimmy Garrett were among the first speakers.

#### GROUNDLESS FEAR

At the meeting at which final plans for the rally were made, one member had voiced the fear, "Suppose the persons attending come up with some kind of a resolution that we don't want?"

This fear proved groundless. As people turned out for the event, they were guided by the hard core revolutionaries and the outcome was never in doubt. The deck was stacked by the in-group—regulars of the Vietnam Committee, DuBois, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Students for Democratic Society and Young Socialists (virtually the identical membership of the Vietnam Committee).

After the first night, attendance dwindled to half on Saturday, a fourth on Sunday. But it was not considered a failure.

#### NATIONAL SUCCESS

A few new recruits had been added to the mailing lists. A few more could be counted on to show up at meetings and picket lines. And a permanent type of COUP organization was formed with an agreement to meet again and press further for the demands brought up at the rally.

On the national level the success was more noteworthy. Agreement was reached in Washington to hold a national convention of antiwar forces in Madison, Wis., on Thanksgiving weekend.

Plans, suggested by the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee, the Nation's most active group of its kind, were formulated for civil disobedience rallies on October 15-16.

Within 2 weeks, I, having risen to the status of committee member in the local Vietnam group, was contacted by a man from New York who was setting up a National Coordinating Committee on Vietnam Protests.

#### SAME ADDRESS

It was formed at COUP, in Washington, with temporary headquarters at 1728 Van Hise Avenue, Madison, Wis.

October 19, 1965

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

Oh, yes, Madison also has a DuBois Chapter at the University of Wisconsin, headed by Mrs. Eugene Dennis, Jr., 202 Marion Street, daughter-in-law of the former head of the national Communist Party.

Also out of COUP, at the prompting of the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee headquarters, came a call for massive nationwide civil disobedience display on October 15-16, centered on the campuses.

In both San Francisco and Los Angeles, I discovered first hand, COUP leaflets were printed and distributed by the DuBois and Socialist Workers Party.

Why do they always intertwine, the activities of clubs like DuBois, the Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the Socialist Workers Party, I wondered?

## I MARCH ON PICKET LINES

(By Jerry LeBlanc)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Jerry LeBlanc, Evening Outlook staff writer, spent 2 months underground as a member of the extreme left in Los Angeles. This is the third in a series of articles on who the leaders are, what they are attempting to do, and how they are trying to do it.)

My initial experience as a picket for the extreme left occurred on the night of July 12 when I carried a hand-lettered sign in front of the Palladium in Hollywood that read "End the War in Vietnam."

I concur with the sentiment on the sign, but I wasn't there for the same reason as the 250 other persons in the demonstration. I was there to learn as much as I could about who is behind the tide of protests against our foreign policy.

The occasion of the demonstration was the appearance of Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY at a Democratic Party fund-raising dinner. It was an eye opener for me.

## HE GETS HIS SIGN

Basically, I'm shy, but when I arrived I pushed through the gathering crowd of spectators and, waiting for a break in the long parade, stepped in.

After two turns around the front and side of the Palladium, I was handed my sign.

I recalled then that I had met the Vice President only a few months before while covering a speech for the Evening Outlook. I was uneasy about possibly running into him as a picket.

Virtually everyone in the picket line carried signs similar to mine. It was a very successful demonstration.

## MARCHERS DESCRIBED

With me in the march were well-heeled clubwomen with the aura of Encino all but stamped on them, and students from Young Democrat organizations and the socialist youth groups. There were the denizens of Venice, women pushing baby strollers and kindly senior citizen types.

Beards were plentiful and Negroes were few. A full-suited gentleman marched in the line reading a book as though he were completely alone on the street.

Elderly church women straggled and chattered, unable to maintain the pace.

It was colorful. The professional demonstrators compared past experiences with conversation like, "Did you get arrested? I did."

As flashbulbs popped, the pickets speculated on which cameramen were from newspapers and which were FBI.

You could buy your "I Am An Enemy of the State" button for 50 cents, or you could invest in literature like the Young Socialist, the Militant, the Movement or the Free Press.

And an antipicket picket carried his sign high, declaring, "Reds Go Home."

The demonstration was well organized.

Some 200 hand-painted protest signs were quickly stacked in the Palladium parking lot, then a man with a staple gun banged away

at them while another man hurriedly passed them out neatly attached to slats.

## SONGS BEGUN

Armbanded picket captain, stationed at regular intervals, urged marchers to maintain the pace and keep in single file.

At the Palladium entrance leaders tried to set up chants and songs, which were picked up and died away as the pickets moved on. The songs were from the civil rights movement or the peace movement: "We Shall Overcome," "I Ain't Going to Study War No More."

Demonstrations of this sort are put together with skill, I learned later as an official member of the Congress of Unrepresented People (COUP).

Having stepped into the publicity committee of the Vietnam protest group, and having begun to take a vocal part in its activities, I naturally fitted into the newly organized COUP.

## GARRETT'S EXPLANATIONS

I had first heard of COUP at a DuBois Club meeting in Venice. The next week, joining the Committee To End the War in Vietnam, I heard about COUP at greater length.

Jimmy Garrett of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Council (SNCC), addressed the group and explained COUP. The most striking statement in his talk was that the idea of concentrating on the Vietnam protest alone had been considered but set aside:

Because, he explained, if Johnson pulled the troops out of Vietnam, then the group would have nothing to fight.

So other issues were brought in: poverty, racial inequality, political organization, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, police brutality.

In other words, I surmised, the idea was to oppose the Government on as many fronts as possible.

The Vietnam protest was fine by itself, but a broader organization was needed to plunge into these other fields. DuBois Clubs, which play a strong role in the Vietnam protest, are handicapped by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's characterization of them as Communists, especially when it comes to working with a broad range of public interests.

Virtually every one of the 28 organizers of the national COUP already were involved in the Vietnam issue and/or nonviolent action committees. But a new organization was born.

Four our Friday, August 6 march from South Park to Exposition Park, we swiftly formed a publicity committee, program committee, district breakdown committee, and other work groups.

These set up interim meetings for planning the COUP demonstration, and a general meeting to gather all possible participants in COUP was called for the end of the week.

## ASSIGNMENTS MADE

At that time, specific assignments were dealt: creating posters, writing leaflets, and reproduction of the leaflets.

Provisions were made for loudspeaking equipment, lighting, food catering, and a dozen other details, including telephone contacts and mailings.

I was appointed to the publicity action committee and my suggestions for bumper stickers and poster wordings were adopted with applause.

My press release went to all area newspapers and radio-television stations, carrying my name and phone number for further information.

Meanwhile, I helped in mailings and managed to get a list of target organizations which COUP sought to bind together.

Picket signs were to be painted, and, for this a sign-painting party was called at the home of a talented young art student, Bob Bigelow.

My wife joined the sign-painting party with me and designed a peace poster with a globe representing the world, flanked by a dove on one side and an atomic cloud on the other. It won immediate praise and, when the COUP march was ended, her poster was chosen for the spot of honor and was attached to a light standard behind the speaker's post.

## GROUPS SOUGHT

These are the groups which we invited to participate in COUP (but it must be made clear that not all participated. The list is given only to illustrate the aims of the COUP organization):

Artists Protest Committee, Youth for Peace, Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, American Friends, War Resisters League, Women's Strike for Peace, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Women's International League for Peace. UCLA Student Committee on Vietnam;

Unitarian Peace Committee, Community Discussion Project, Human Relations Club, Physicians for Social Responsibility, the Lawyers Guild, American Civil Liberties Union, National Committee To Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, South African Freedom Action, Afro-American Cultural Association, Nation of Islam;

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Congress of Racial Equality, United Civil Rights Committee, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Mexican-American Political Association, DuBois Clubs, Californians for Liberal Representation, Socialist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialists of America, Young People's Socialist League, California Democratic Council, Students for a Democratic Society, and unions like the ILWU, the ILGWU, and even the UAW and IAM.

As has been stressed, not all of these organizations participated. About a dozen, however, were in from the founding stage.

To encourage participation of individuals without the official sanction of their organizations, it was made clear that members of the establishing unit would identify themselves as, for instance, John Doe, a member of CORE, rather than a representative.

The demonstration and the organization itself succeeded, and that's what counts. Activists care little about labels, so long as the job is done.

## LEFTISTS SEEK SOCIALIST UNITED STATES—DUBOIS MEMBERS WORK TO CREATE NEW GOVERNMENT

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Jerry LeBlanc, Evening Outlook staff writer, spent 2 months underground as a member of the Extreme Left in Los Angeles. This is the fourth of a series of articles on who the leaders are, what they are attempting to do and how they are trying to do it.)

(By Jerry LeBlanc)

It is not against the law to overthrow the U.S. Government, provided you do it on election day with ballots.

Only a little more than a year ago a new youth group dedicated to this cause held its founding convention in San Francisco and almost immediately was characterized by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover as a Communist tool.

The infant organization named itself after W. E. B. DuBois, one of the founders of the NAACP in 1909 who later repudiated the civil rights group and joined the Communist Party.

DuBois, winner of a Lenin Peace Prize in 1959, is dead now and buried in Moscow.

## WE STRIVE FOR SOCIALISM

"With the vision of DuBois," the club states officially, "we are striving toward a world of socialism and peace."

In the interests of truth, I lived the life of a DuBois Club enthusiast for 2 months, finding myself wending through a maze of

October 19, 1965

hundred organizations, overlapping in function and all having in common this one thing: Creation of a new political force.

The DuBois Club makes no bones about its aims: "By courageous dedication to, and militant action in, the fight to solve the immediate problems of Americans of all races, ages, and nationalities, a socialist movement will win the democratic majority which alone can make a socialist America."

The aim of the group is quite clear and overtly stated.

Hoover put it this way: "The (Communist) party is making every effort to increase its influence in the racial struggle and continues to promote the false impression that it is a legitimate political party."

He added, "It has assigned priority to a recruitment campaign aimed at gaining new members from the ranks of American youth. To implement this program, it initiated a new national Marxist youth organization last June—the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America."

Former FBI counterspy, Herbert Philbrick said in San Francisco that the DuBois Club is filling the void that once was the Young Communist League.

Called on for an example, he said. "One basic Communist strategy is to deliberately violate the law, provoke the police into cracking down and then hurling charges of 'police brutality.'"

#### CALL FOR POLITICAL FORCE

Speaking for the club itself, the editors of *Insurgent* take a broader view:

"Until now, the focus for activists was the sporadic picket, sit-in, strike, march—the movement growing from action to action, slumping, then gaining larger life in some new and unexpected spot.

"But behind these outbursts of ever-growing action, something new is coming.

"The time is ripe for political organization, incorporating all of the experiences of recent years, but building on far stronger foundations; uniting activists, racial minorities and great numbers of working people—and those who can't find work—into a permanent political force.

"Such work will spread, and with it the possibility for the people to assume the power and transform America into a real democracy—a socialist democracy."

#### INSIGNIA DESCRIBED

The insignia of the DuBois Club is a half-white, half-black circle with a white hand and a black hand reaching for a dove, symbolizing brotherhood of man and peace, or civil rights and Vietnam, depending on your interpretation.

The founding convention of the organization was held June 19-21, 1964, in San Francisco.

Among those on hand for the initial meeting was Terence Hallinan, son of Vincent Hallinan, once Progressive Party (a cited Communist front) candidate for President and an ardent pro-Soviet.

Another DuBois Club founder was Mike Myerson, author of the publication, "The U.S. War in Vietnam."

Bettina Aptheker, daughter of top-ranked Communist theoretician Herbert Aptheker and a leader in the Free Speech Movement at the University of California, is another founder. She coauthored the DuBois book on the FSM crisis.

#### LOS ANGELES REPRESENTATION

Carl Bloice, People's World writer, frequent Moscow visitor and editor of the DuBois semimonthly publication "Insurgent," was another founder of the organization.

Attending the founding convention from Los Angeles, according to reliable reports, was Bob Duggan, recently appointed coordi-

nator for Los Angeles area DuBois programs. A summer ago he was working with Puerto Ricans in New York City helping organize rent strikes.

At an end-of-the-summer conference this year, Hugh Fowler, an organizer of the Congress of Unrepresented People and a UC Berkeley student, was elected DuBois national chairman; Terence Hallinan became organizations secretary; his brother, Matthew, educational director; Bloice, publications director, and Sue Borenstein, of Philadelphia, treasurer.

Miss Aptheker was in attendance at the national session, according to the People's World, and her father was named literary executor of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and is in custody of all his papers.

I visited the San Francisco DuBois headquarters this summer. It worked out rather oddly how I got there in that I was on Vietnam Committee business and figured I would deal with the largest Vietnam Committee in the country only a few miles away in Berkeley.

#### IN POOR DISTRICT

When I contacted Terence Hallinan to ask him whom I should see, he directed me without hesitation to the DuBois office in San Francisco.

I found it in a basement storefront of a dilapidated building in a Negro district that makes Watts look like Bel-Air.

Opening the door at 1853½ McAllister Street, I introduced myself to Celia Rosebury, managing editor of *Insurgent*.

Editor Carl Bloice was not present, so Miss Rosebury and I discussed an article I wished to submit with authority from the Vietnam protest group in Los Angeles.

She perched on a high stool while an attractive blonde assistant worked nearby and an artist occupied a desk in an adjoining room.

#### PROPAGANDA ABUNDANT

Civil rights and police brutality propaganda was abundant on the walls. In the front window hung a get out of Vietnam poster. A freshly mimeographed stack of leaflets on behalf of a Congress of Unrepresented People rally sat beside the machine, and boxes full of the DuBois publication, "The U.S. War in Vietnam," were ready for distribution.

Celia Rosebury was definitely interested in my proposed article, based on a legal brief by Los Angeles Attorney Hugh Manes describing alleged U.S. treaty violations in the Vietnam conflict.

I agreed to send in the story. She directed me to the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee offices, and I left, having learned only that DuBois nationally is involved in basically the same diverse causes as DuBois in Los Angeles.

#### ACTIVITIES OUTLINED

The political efforts in both northern and southern California are progressing on a broad front. The Venice DuBois Club has initiated a neighborhood canvass with an eye to political organization right now. And John Haag, area chairman, was actively leading club members in political activity in the Los Angeles City elections last spring.

The West Los Angeles and Central Los Angeles DuBois organizations, and those in San Francisco and Berkeley, are also involved in neighborhood canvassing.

The Congress of Unrepresented People's platform calls for political organization as one of its efforts.

And last month, tying the whole ball of wax up nationally, Rick Wolff, of New Haven, Conn., coordinator for the nationwide Vietnam protest movement, stressed in a private meeting with me that political organization will become the focal point for the peace drive.

STRENGTH OF LEFTISTS SHOWN—SURVEY REVEALS VARIED PURSUITS OF DU BOIS CLUBS

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Jerry LeBlanc, Evening Outlook staff writer, spent 2 months underground as a member of the extreme left in Los Angeles. This is the fifth in a series of articles on who the leaders are, what they are attempting to do, and how they are trying to do it.)

(By Jerry LeBlanc)

As one minor participant in the extreme left, a pursuit I undertook in a search for facts rather than social change, I had to wonder how big the W. E. B. DuBois Club is.

The answer I came up with is this: "Growing." It is now small in numbers, but its ability to work with allied organizations in pressing its causes multiplies its strength by thousands.

To find out what the DuBois organization is doing nationwide, I wrote to newspaper editors in 100 cities, all of them either metropolitan centers or university towns.

On the Los Angeles question, the process was simpler. I asked John Haag, area coordinator.

#### ONE HUNDRED ACTIVE MEMBERS IN LOS ANGELES

"We only have about 100 members in the Los Angeles area," said Haag. He told of an embryo South Los Angeles club that had "become inactive," but pointed out that the West Los Angeles and Central Los Angeles clubs are "on the move."

The momentum makes it hard to distinguish DuBois from other movements, particularly from the view of direction, if not leadership.

San Francisco and the Alameda-Oakland-Berkeley areas are far more active, both in terms of the DuBois Club and the Vietnam Committee, and their allies, the Free Speech Movement organizers.

At least three DuBois Clubs are located in the area, one in San Francisco, one in Berkeley, and one on the campus of the University of California.

#### NATIONWIDE SURVEY RESULTS

Besides being national DuBois headquarters, the San Francisco Bay area has what is undoubtedly the Nation's biggest, most active Vietnam protest unit, with offices of its own and a full-time paid staff of four.

As my survey results poured in, letter by letter I learned these facts:

Across the country, New York is the location of five well-spaced DuBois Clubs, one each in the Lower East Side, upper Manhattan, Queens, Bronx, and Brooklyn.

They, too, are active in the Vietnam protest, under the direction of Robert Heisler, State coordinator, of 3477 Corsa Avenue, Bronx.

In Chicago there are two clubs, one headquartered at the home of Ted Pearson, area coordinator, 1808 North Cleveland Avenue, and at the Modern Book Store, 56 East Chicago Avenue. Their 50 members are concentrating on the war on poverty.

#### PHILADELPHIA UNIT

Philadelphia also has a DuBois unit, headed by Sondra Patrinos, 516 West Coulter Street, with a small membership—about 20. They tried to join the NAACP in picketing a boys' school in a segregation dispute, but the civil rights group spurned their offer of help.

(The NAACP nationally has been reluctant to ally itself with other groups.)

St. Louis, Mo., also has its group of about 50 DuBois members under the guidance of James E. Peake, Jr., area coordinator, with headquarters at 1910 North Grand Avenue.

Very active and pledged to "techniques of direct action, including street demonstrations," according to Peake, the St. Louis

October 19, 1965

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

26507

DuBois is trying to organize Washington University students, is working on political organization in Negro neighborhoods, and on the widespread Vietnam protest.

## COMMUNIST KIN INVOLVED

In Madison, Wis., a 33-member DuBois club, headed by Mrs. Eugene Dennis Jr., daughter-in-law of the ex-chieftain of the American Communist Party, meets at her home, 202 Marion Streets, and concentrates on the University of Wisconsin campus, where some 50 midwest DuBois delegates held a convention last February to organize Vietnam demonstrations.

Also on the campus, a Vietnam protest was led by DuBois member Daniel Friedman.

Mrs. Dennis' husband operated a separate, noncampus DuBois Club but apparently left Madison this summer. He is regional coordinator of the DuBois clubs, but a New Yorker.

There is also reliably reported to be a functioning DuBois group in Newark, N.J., and there probably are others.

Returning to the West Coast again, we find a small club with 20 members in Portland, Ore., most of them ex-Reed College students.

Headed by Jeffery Sachar of New York, they expect to organize another unit on the campus of Portland State College this semester.

The DuBois Club survey did not include asking for information on organizations with similar aims, such as the Vietnam protest committees. That there are connections between the groups is an inescapable conclusion, however.

## EXAMPLE GIVEN

Just as one example, Carl Oglesby, president of the Nationally-organized Students For A Democratic Society, stated a few months ago that SDS is considering action "that may involve deliberate violation of one or more of the nation's espionage laws" to show opposition to the U.S. policy in Vietnam.

Oglesby, who lives at Ann Arbor, Mich., where a massive Vietnam "teach-in" protest was held last spring, is a signer of the original Washington call for the Congress of Unrepresented People (COUP). As earlier articles in the series showed, COUP is an organization combining all DuBois club goals under one banner.

I saw no direct evidence that DuBois is in charge of operations of other groups, but it is certainly true that DuBois leaders are in almost all the major activist organizations.

The common membership of some groups is large and in a situation where each group guards its independence, no one seems eager to emerge as an over-all commander, so long as the groups can be organized together on their common projects.

## IT'S SAME THING

Once John Haag, Los Angeles area DuBois chairman, said to me, after telling of an upcoming DuBois-organized Venice neighborhood survey on the Vietnam issue: "We'd like to meet somewhere else, so it doesn't seem we're behind everything, but I guess they know anyway."

Another time, following a strategy meeting of the Congress of Unrepresented People, Tom Garrison, formerly of the Congress of Racial Equality and now prominent in DuBois activities, invited me to a COUP sign-painting party on a Tuesday night.

"Sorry, I can't make it," I told him. "The Vietnam committee meets Tuesday night."

"Skip it and come to our DuBois steering committee meeting Wednesday night—it's the same thing."

I believe him. In my head I tried to multiply the Los Angeles situation by the number of other communities where DuBois and the peace groups are linked.

No. 195 — 25

My talent as a computer failed, but the effective strength of such an alliance is far more powerful than the relatively tiny DuBois Club itself.

## PROFILES OF ACTIVE LEFTISTS—MEET PEOPLE OF FAR LEFT

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Jerry LeBlanc, Evening Outlook staff writer, spent 2 months underground as a member of the extreme left in Los Angeles. This is the sixth of a series of articles on who the leaders are, what they are attempting to do, and how they are trying to do it.)

(By Jerry LeBlanc)

An FBI infiltrator in the extreme left has to be awfully careful how he goes about trying to keep tabs on who's who in the movement.

One little mistake and he'll expose himself.

As an undercover reporter probing the ultraleft—its people, aims, and activities—I met more than 3 dozen persons I can still remember by name, most of them in the category of "activists."

One, I'm positive, was an FBI man who had penetrated the "in group" of the extreme left just as I had. I had wanted very much to meet him because, from what I kept hearing, he was a leading figure in the revolutionary council.

## HE TIPS HIMSELF OFF

Our first direct encounter came about when he telephoned. "Jerry," he said, "Bert in Berkeley suggested we get together."

He tipped himself off by telephoning me at a number of a next-door neighbor which I didn't even know myself, and saying he got it from a guy I never met in Berkeley.

The only way he could have gotten the number, I knew, had to be through police facilities, but I went along with this line and we agreed to contact each other at a meeting.

From the instant we shook hands, I knew he knew I was suspicious of him, and every time I tried to corner him for a question, he started talking to someone else.

## HE PLAYED ROLE CAREFULLY

He seemed less worried about my suspicions than the possibility that I might expose him to another fellow whose acquaintance he was trying to cultivate.

When the session was over, he seemed so relieved to extend a hand in farewell that I was tempted to wink at him.

I never saw him again, and for all I know, he's still a trusted member of the leadership clique.

I met a lot of interesting people in the ultraleft. Despite the stereotype, bearded males and stringy-haired females were the exception, not the rule.

The police of the ultraleft are professors and poets, professionals and shirt-sleeve workingmen, bums and the opulent, men and women, boys and girls, Negroes, whites, and orientals.

I met them in colorful coffeehouses, artistic hillside homes, cluttered offices, tract houses, sparsely furnished apartments, in the Negro district and the Hollywood hills, and on the campus and street corners.

It's amazing how much you can find out about these people if you try. Here are profiles of three I consider interesting:

John Haag: Clean shaven, well educated, he came to Los Angeles in 1959 with his wife and worked at Space Technology until his security clearance was revoked.

## POLICE ENCOUNTERS

He was involved in a couple of minor skirmishes with the police and was fined in one case, with charges dropped in the other, both linked to his beatnik Venice West coffeehouse at 7 Dudley Avenue.

He has a small son named Thomas Paine Haag.

Haag, who I found very likeable, is area DuBois chairman, Venice chapter president of the American Civil Liberties Union, chairman of an ad hoc committee against police brutality, and involved in the committee to end the war in Vietnam and the congress of unrepresented people and probably a half dozen other causes.

## MONEY DONATED

Once I asked Haag if the coffeehouse he operates next door to the DuBois headquarters supports him financially. He replied with a shrug. "People give me money from time to time—people interested in what I'm doing." Haag told me one night why he was part of the ultraleft. He sat at a crude wood table in his dimly lit coffeehouse.

Nearby was a bulletin board, a mixed collection of antipolice and anti-Vietnam war literature, leaflets announcing upcoming meetings and demonstrations, notices of fundraising parties, and personal notes from transient acquaintances and lovers.

## VAGABOND NATURE

Winos, wandering youths, guitarists and poets pursued their interest at the other table. These are people I sympathize with, having spent my own youth as a vagabond.

"They come here looking for something that doesn't exist anymore," Haag said of his clientele. "They're looking for a beatnik community like Greenwich Village once was."

"A lot of them end up on wine or dope in 3 weeks. That's what causes most of the trouble here: the ones on wine and pills. They mix cheap wine and seconal and go out of their heads. There was a bunch I had to throw out last night and I think the same group stomped a kid sleeping on the beach, nearly killed him, for no reason."

Pondering the senselessness of it, he continued, "The beats are hopeless. They come up with plenty of justified criticism of society, but they don't take part in changing things, and they never even suggested an alternative. That's one of the reasons I turned to politics and social reform for the answer."

## POLICE CHECK

Our conversation was interrupted when a police car rolled up to the door, motor running, radio blaring. Haag's attractive wife, Anna, a fiery blonde, limping on one crutch as the result of an accident, called from the door, "John, will you talk to this cop?"

Haag left and the coffeehouse resounded to the rafters with a cheer for Anna, who loudly slammed the door on the police.

Police do display a great deal of interest in this coffeehouse and its inhabitants, but then, it is the unofficial headquarters for the rebels, the downtrodden, the idle, the winos, pot and pill users, and, concomitantly the troublemakers.

Harassment is the term the coffeehouse habitués use to describe the police activities, and it is obvious the police bear down on the place as though it should not be permitted to exist.

## POLICE ARE COMFORTING

I have never been there when police did not make their presence known. But I felt a lot safer that they were around.

In any event, it became quite clear that the police are part of "the enemy" in the area and that Haag, who may agree philosophically with the lawmen that such neighborhoods should not exist, serves as unofficial champion of the "outcasts" of Venice in their undeclared battle with the police.

And now that the coffeehouse and its next door political annex have become a center of operations for DuBois, the Vietnam protest and the new Congress of Unrepresented Peo-

26508

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

October 19, 1965

ple (COUP), not to mention the Watts issue, the police-citizen tension is heightened.

"Why is it any better to hate cops than to hate Negroes?" I asked once, "most of them are people, aren't they?" The question went unanswered.

## OUTSPOKEN DISLIKE

Darrell Myers: Los Angeles chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), he is outspoken in his dislike for police, branding them as "the enemy."

Myers, from Stockton, is 22, blond, collegiate looking and has a militant speech to make at every function, whether it be YSA, the Vietnam Committee or COUP. He is a detail man and a stickler for parliamentary procedure.

At 19, he squatted in the door of the Atomic Energy Commission in Berkeley, challenging arrest. He achieved arrest at the well-remembered Cadillac and Sheraton-Palace Hotel rights demonstration in San Francisco.

Since 1962 he has been picketing as a pacifist.

He said he believes the Socialists will one day have to take up arms to fight off Government suppression. I nominate him for the most belligerent pacifist of the day award.

## ATTORNEY DESCRIBED

Hugh Manes: A zealous and tireless attorney constantly seeking to reform society, he is a lawyer with offices in Hollywood and is an associate of A. L. Wirin in the American Civil Liberties Union.

Manes, a participant in Socialist Workers Party-backed Military Labor Forum events, also help defend suspended Los Angeles policeman Mike Hannon, whose Congress of Racial Equality activities came under fire.

Manes is a 1964 member of the National Lawyers Guild, a cited Communist legal front, and helped prepare a thick dossier documenting alleged U.S. treaty violations in the Vietnam conflict.

He is a member of the Los Angeles Vietnam protest committee. An enthusiast for the cause, he turns red-faced when arguing a point.

One of his best friends is not Los Angeles Police Chief William H. Parker. When my committee was starting a DuBois brochure on the Watts riots, one member said, "I'll talk to Manes; he's got a file 15 years back on Chief Parker."

The people involved in the ultraleft are diverse, and as interesting as they are numerous.

## LEFTIST RECRUITS YANKS TO BATTLE VIET GIs

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Jerry LeBlanc, Evening Outlook staff writer, spent 2 months underground as a member of the extreme left in Los Angeles. This is the seventh of a series of articles on who the leaders are, what they are attempting to do, and how they are attempting to do it.)

(By Jerry LeBlanc)

As a reporter, I don't consider myself easily shocked, but I admit being badly shaken one night recently when a man stood before me and tried to enlist an international brigade pitting Americans against Americans in a struggle to the death in Vietnam.

As an undercover reporter probing the extreme left, I went with my wife to the Militant Labor Forum on July 30 at 1702 East Fourth Street, Los Angeles.

In an upstairs hall, we passed through a propaganda-filled book store and entered a crowded back room.

We paid a dollar each to get in and I'm not sure if it's tax deductible because the forum is operated by the Socialist Workers Party, which is listed by the Attorney General as a subversive organization. In any event, I entered the two bucks as one of the items on my expense sheet to the Evening Outlook.

Leaflets advertising the forum were handed out at Congress of Unrepresented People sessions.

The hall was complete with a bust of Leon Trotsky, who was assassinated in 1940 by employees of a one-time Communist bigwig named Stalin.

Midway through the forum, a bearded spectator arose and declared that his organization, called the Freedom Fighters, is negotiating with North Vietnam envoys in Switzerland for permission to send a military brigade to fight on the side of the Vietcong.

He was Ron B. Ramsey of 112 North Culver Boulevard; Compton, a man who looked like a Cuban guerrilla but says he is a Ph. D. and is known to have been on the Berkeley campus, although neither as professor, which he calls himself, nor student.

"We'll have our guns in our hands within a few weeks," he vowed and he offered to enlist volunteers on the spot.

No one seemed particularly shocked at Ramsey's proposal. No one but me, maybe.

The principal activists of the Los Angeles area youth movement were all present at the speakers' table.

## PRINCIPALS NAMED

They were Jimmy Garrett of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Congress of Unrepresented People; John Haag, area chairman of DuBois Clubs; Margaret Thorpe of the Students for a Democratic Society; Dorothy Balassa, who with Miss Thorpe is cochairman of the Committee To End the War in Vietnam; Darrel Myers, Los Angeles organizer for the Young Socialist Alliance, and Cathy Gallagher of the Young People's Socialist League.

Moderator for the panel, on the topic new youth and the old left, was Hugh Manes, one of the American Civil Liberties Union lawyers who helped defend Michael Hannon, Los Angeles police officer ousted for participating in Congress of Racial Equality activities.

Manes was a 1964 member of the National Lawyers Guild, a cited Red front. He is now circulating nationally among other lawyers a 35-page legal brief documenting alleged U.S. violations of international law in the Vietnam action.

Ramsey's statement was far more sensational than most I heard from the radical left, and perhaps he is not representative of it.

However, the next morning I phoned the office of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in Hollywood and who answered? None other than Ron Ramsey.

## INFORMATION GIVEN

He gave me the information I wanted about a Federal building rally that day, connected with the Vietnam protest, and with suspended police Officer Michael Hannon as the featured speaker.

To further the connections, Ramsey also said he helped send three autos full of Los Angeles representatives to the Washington Congress of Unrepresented People march August 7-9.

Mrs. Balassa was among the sponsors of the Federal Building rally which was promoted by the Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Attorney Manes, also a committee member, was present, as were the rest of the cast from the previous night.

Ramsey, a Free Speech Movement activist, spent the early part of this year in an Algerian jail. The Ben Bella aid he went to Algeria to work for has since been ousted.

His travels also include Vietnam, he says, and he states that he was educated in Asia.

He also was in Zanzibar, now Tanzania, after the Mohammed Babu coup.

## ACTIVE IN UNITED STATES

In this country, he has been active in the peace and disarmament movements, apart from his volunteer army, and sometimes simultaneously.

Another outspoken party to the Militant Labor Forum, which, by the way, reprints and circulates COUP pamphlets, is Myers, a one-time pacifist from San Francisco, active in the Vietnam protest at Berkeley and, one of those arrested in the Sheraton-Palace Hotel and Cadillac civil rights demonstrations.

Myers, at the Militant Labor Forum, cheered the stoning of police by Harvey Aluminum Co. pickets in July, declaring, "They don't have to wait to be told who the enemy is."

Myers does not believe the ultraleft activists should go and fight against Americans in Vietnam. He believes they should fight them on the home front.

## WE MUST BE READY

"Sooner or later," Myers said, "the Government will come to regard the movement as the same kind of enemy as the forces it fights overseas."

"At that time," he said, "we must be prepared to take up arms and defend ourselves to keep the movement alive. But let the Government decide when the terror starts."

As I said, Myers calls himself a pacifist, and has participated in picketing in numerous sit-ins in the cause of peace.

The fine line between peace and war against their own government is one which several activist leaders straddle.

Garrett, for instance said, "I'd like to go into the Negro district and set up a school for draft dodgers—to teach them how to keep out of the Army."

## HE WON'T GO

"Me, I'm not going, because I don't want to be killed and I don't want to kill anybody. But some of these draftees don't know how to stay out."

The burning of draft cards is a defiant demonstration of protest which has been advocated and carried out in many parts of the country, prompting new legislation making such acts a crime.

Perhaps one day, draft-dodger schools also will have to be banned.

Another tactic in the formative stage with the Vietnam committee was described by James Gallagher of the Socialist Party. "The leafleting of soldiers and sailors themselves, urging them to refuse to participate in the war, which means disobeying orders. The committee wants to offer to put them in contact with people who will help them plead themselves as conscientious objectors."

## MANES ROLE TOLD

Manes was to look into the legal ramifications of such advocacy.

The committee also hopes to enlist union aid in boycotting ships and refusing to load munitions on ships used in the Vietnam supply operation.

And, in San Francisco, the Vietnam committee has started the practice of trying to halt troop trains.

They also suggest, "If for example, in Berkeley on October 16, thousands of students and others block the gates of the Oakland Army Terminal where munitions are shipped to Vietnam, and are arrested, we think that attention will be focused dramatically on the issues in Vietnam."

The possibility of sabotage has been openly hinted by the national leader of the Students for a Democratic Society, and men like Staughton Lynd, a leftist Yale professor, before an audience of thousands, suggested storming Army terminals.

## TARGET OF IDEAS

Once upon a time, people believed some wars had to be fought, but now, even those en route to die for their country are targets in the war of ideas.

Picture a draftee's reaction, for instance. after giving up his schooling or work, being separated from his friends and family, leaving his hometown and training for Army service. Bad enough luck being drafted;

then he is chosen for the hottest front: Vietnam. And with all these sacrifices, en route to a foreign nation he is confronted by pamphlets from the extreme left telling him the war is not worth dying for.

**VIETNAM: KEY PROTEST ISSUE—DIRECT REPORTS FROM RED BLOC GUIDE ACTIVISTS**

(Editor's Note.—Jerry LeBlanc, Evening Outlook staff writer, spent 2 months underground as a member of the Extreme Left in Los Angeles. This is the eighth in a series of articles on who the leaders are, what they are attempting to do, and how they are trying to do it.)

(By Jerry LeBlanc)

Reports direct from Moscow and North Vietnam are among the benefits received by in-group members of the DuBois Clubs and other Extreme Left organizations.

One Saturday night in August, at 5555 Green Oak Drive in the Hollywood Hills, I listened with fascination to such a report.

Speaking was Carl Bloice, national publicity director of the DuBois Clubs and a staff writer for the Communist-line newspaper People's World.

"North Vietnam has a special North American affairs representative, and he knows more about the peace movement and youth movement in the United States than I do," Bloice told the 80 or so persons at the meeting.

**KNOWS OFFICERS, ACTIVITIES**

"I saw him in Helsinki," Bloice said. "He even knows the officers and when they were elected and what every group is doing."

Bloice said he and Don Smith, chairman of the Los Angeles Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) had just returned from the Communist-dominated "World Peace Congress" in the Finnish capital. They had made side trips to Leningrad and Moscow.

With me on the grassy back yard of the fashionable hillside home was my wife, Renee, who often accompanied me during my investigation of the Extreme Left. All of us were gathered around on benches and patio chairs to hear the latest from this top-echelon figure in the peace movement.

**LEADERS ATTENDED MEETING**

Among the spectators were the leaders of every Vietnam picket line and protest in the Los Angeles area.

Before Bloice himself had returned from Helsinki, I had picked up a copy of the World Peace Congress resolution on Vietnam being distributed by the San Francisco DuBois Club national office.

Point by point and almost word for word, the resolution duplicates the current stand of the Vietcong. It calls for:

1. An immediate end to U.S. aggression in South Vietnam.
2. Immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops and those of their satellites from South Vietnam.
3. Removal of U.S. military bases from South Vietnam.
4. Immediate ending of bombing and other aggressive acts against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

No mention of negotiations is made, and Bloice explained why:

"If the U.S. imperialists gain anything from this intervention, even if they only manage to bring about negotiations, that will be a gain and they will have established a pattern for intervention in all future people's revolutions, wherever they happen."

**LANGUAGE NOTED**

The Helsinki resolution, which was swiftly circulated to all DuBois Clubs for a rubberstamp approval, is replete with such language as:

"The U.S. imperialists \* \* \* crimes against peace-loving people \* \* \* brilliant victories that the Vietnamese people have gained over an aggressive enemy \* \* \*. The National Liberation Front (Vietcong politi-

cal arm) is the only true representative of the South Vietnamese people."

The Helsinki Congress also warmly acclaimed, "The mass movements which are continually gaining in broad support and intensity among the people of many lands, including the United States of America itself, who are expressing their solidarity with the people of Vietnam against the imperialist U.S. aggressors."

**KNEW OF PROTESTS**

Oh, yes, they knew in Helsinki about attempts to organize a volunteer brigade of Americans to join the Vietcong against American troops. This plan, it will be recalled, was aired by Ron B. Ramsay of Compton at a meeting of the extreme left I attended.

And they knew about and saluted efforts to halt troop and arms trains, by the Berkeley Vietnam protests committee, I could see from a report of the Congress I found in the San Francisco DuBois office.

They knew in Helsinki about these efforts 3 weeks before they happened.

The Los Angeles DuBois officially states that "many of the resolutions passed at the Helsinki peace congress have particular relevance to the future of the DuBois clubs."

The extreme left in the United States is preoccupied with the Vietnam issue, obviously, and not only through the traditional Socialist-oriented groups, but through the civil rights movement and pacifist groups based on moral and religious sentiment.

Elsewhere in this series I spell out the links between these various peace movements. The links between the anti-Vietnam war effort and Moscow are a matter of public record.

However, because the Communist Party and its sympathizers are using this cause to further their own aims does not necessarily mean that all pacifists are pro-Communist—as perhaps Robert Welch of the John Birch Society would have us believe.

Here is an official pronouncement on this point:

"There is an unfortunate tendency to pin the Communist label on any radical organization with which one may disagree.

"The complete foolishness of this attitude is as dangerous and reprehensible as that which insists that everyone who joins a Communist front organization is necessarily subservient."

**COMMITTEE STATEMENT**

That statement is from the most recent report of the Senate Factfinding Committee on Un-American Activities of the California Legislature.

Not all of my investigation of the ultra-left was carried on in coffee houses and private homes. Some of it was hard, dull work documenting the movement from a hundred different written sources.

But the task was rewarded with the uncovering of gems like this in research from the House of Representatives report on Vietnam protests:

"While most individuals who have taken part in demonstrations of this type were not directly influenced by the Communist Party, the Communists have endorsed and supported any group which organizes such a demonstration."

"This policy was established (at a meeting of the top Communist Party leaders in June 1964, the month DuBois Club was born) when Jack Stachel, member of the party's national committee, proposed the formation of a united front of Communists, other leftist groups, trade unions, peace organizations, Negro organizations, and churches to promote a campaign in opposition to U.S. policy in southeast Asia."

The quote is from Representative H. ALLEN SMITH of California before the House last May 3.

**COMMUNIST LINE**

He went on to cite DuBois Club participation in the demonstrations "following the Communist Party U.S.A. line on Vietnam just as it has paralleled Communist policy since its founding."

Dorothy Healey, southern California District Chairman for the Communist Party, and Gus Hall, national spokesman, also pressed for action on the Vietnam protest.

This article started in Helsinki and now is leading back there again.

The previous peace festival in Helsinki was attended by, among others, a core of leaders who met to organize the DuBois clubs last year. They were the Hallinan brothers, Michael and Terence, sons of Communist-linked attorney Vincent Hallinan of San Francisco; Mike Myerson, DuBois Club leader and Vietnam writer; and Kenneth Cloke, from the Bay Area, also a DuBois publication writer.

**ACTIVISTS JUMP TO CAPITALIZE ON WATTS RIOT**

(Editor's Note.—Jerry LeBlanc, Evening Outlook staff writer, spent 2 months underground as a member of the extreme left in Los Angeles. This is the ninth in a series of articles on who the leaders are, what they are trying to accomplish and how they are trying to do it.)

(By Jerry LeBlanc)

On Thursday, August 12, I witnessed a startling abrupt change in the whole operation and direction of the DuBois Clubs, Congress of Unrepresented People (COUP) and Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

Los Angeles was erupting in its most violent rampage in history and, as a part-time correspondent for a foreign wire service, I plunged into coverage of the riot scene at Watts.

I had completely forgotten for a brief few hours that my principal reporting job was an inside story on the organization of the extreme left for the Evening Outlook, a job which required joining these organizations.

But when I returned to my home that night, the phone rang and I was immediately recalled to my primary job.

It was Ann Smith of Burbank, a pacifist and member of the Committee to End the War in Vietnam. She often did telephone contact work.

**CAN YOU PICKET?**

Excitedly she told me, "We've called an emergency meeting and we're going to set up picket lines right away. Can you make it?"

"Picket lines?" I asked.

"We're picketing Chief (W. H.) Parker on the police brutality issue in Watts," she said.

I said, "I don't get it. What's Watts got to do with the Vietnam protest committee?"

"You know," she replied, "it's all the same thing."

**NEWSMAN BECOMES ANGRY**

I said I'd try to make it. She gave me an address and I jotted it down. But I was personally angry at the idea of anyone trying to take political advantage of the Watts upheaval I had just witnessed.

From that moment on, at DuBois or Vietnam committee meetings, I never heard Vietnam mentioned again.

With reluctance I joined the picket lines at the police station in downtown Los Angeles.

"Chief Parker Must Go," "End Police Brutality," the signs read. Some of the signs had been hastily painted on the back of used "Get Out of Vietnam" posters.

Although I was surprised at the time, I can understand the connection between Watts and Vietnam. I recall the dozens of incidents I saw that show much of the "enemy"

as are the extreme left's belief that the police of America are as those who establish our Asian foreign policy.

#### THEY HATE SYMBOL

These people are not particularly against the men and women who wear the police uniforms, but the uniform itself is a symbol of authority in the United States, and they hate it.

From the very first contact with the DuBois Club in Venice I recall the police brutality poster prominently displayed. There were identical posters in the office of the national DuBois in San Francisco, and in the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (NVAC) office in Hollywood.

I remember flipping through a Congress of Racial Equality booklet, a devastating portrait of Dixie in pictures. One picture showed a police officer making an obscene gesture at the photographer, probably confident the picture would never appear in print.

That kind of action by one police officer is seized upon and turned to the advantage of the extreme left.

#### POLICE DOWNGRADED

In their rough work, police everywhere are being likened to the "villian-cops" of the South, who are cast as "heavies" because they enforce unpopular and sometimes, it's been proven, unconstitutional laws.

There was a vague comprehension in the extreme left before the Watts riots of some kind of potential for agitation against the police.

One night a month before the outbreak—on July 15—the subject came up while I was at the home of Jimmy Garrett, a Negro field man for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and an organizer of the Congress of Unrepresented People.

I noted at the time that Garrett had a sarcastic "Support Your Local Police" sign on his door, the same as in the Venice West coffee house operated by Los Angeles area DuBois Chairman John Haag.

#### CONVERSATION RECALLED

My notes on my conversation with Garrett read as follows: "Garrett offered the suggestion that the hatred of poverty-stricken south and east Los Angeles residents for police could be the basis for a cause, i.e., 'Stop police murder of Negroes.'"

But the extreme left was depressed about the possibilities. For example, the day before the riots started, Robert Hall, a member of the Vietnam committee, told his fellow members:

"The idea of political organizing in south Los Angeles is hopeless. They'll listen to anybody, but then they just walk off and forget it."

Hall, who is also a member of the Non-violent Action Committee, which is headquartered in the riot zone, suggested to the committee that the organizing be done through clubs and churches in the area.

#### THEY WERE UNAWARE, TOO

No one I know in the ranks of the extreme left knew in advance that that Negro uprising would take place, or if they did, they kept it secret.

But once the uprising was a fact, the picture changed immediately. I know several extreme left Negroes who were in the thick of the rioting, or said they were, starting Thursday. They said they were there as observers only, but they participated in bringing Negroes in the area to march in the picket line I joined in front of Chief Parker's headquarters.

At an emergency meeting of the Vietnam Committee, a Negro spokesman for the Non-violent Action Committee told the Caucasians present, "If you don't get down there (to picket) right away, don't ever show your white faces in the Negro district again."

#### PAMPHLETS PUBLISHED

Picketing isn't all we did.

The scene shifts to the Venice DuBois headquarters, where their mimeograph machine immediately began spouting pamphlets making it clear that the extreme left is on the side of the Negro.

The pamphlets were the customary fact-starved, slanted appeals aimed more at making friends among the Negroes than at helping them.

Before the fires stopped smouldering, the extreme left crews were in action in the riot area trying to help, to blame and to organize.

John Haag, area DuBois chairman, directed members to channel funds for freeing jailed rioting suspects through the swiftly created "South Side Defense Committee."

The committee, formed to assist riot area Negroes in getting legal assistance, set up headquarters at 326 West Third Street, the location of the Committee to Protect the Foreign Born, a cited Communist-front organization.

#### CRASH PROGRAM

I was appointed to another committee to prepare a comprehensive booklet of some 50 pages on the causes of the rioting and "police abuses" before and during the rioting.

According to our instructions, it was to be a crash production, modeled after the DuBois San Francisco booklet, "The War in Vietnam," and would be distributed throughout Negro and white areas nationally.

The same night we drew up and mimeographed a questionnaire to be used in interviews with Negro rioters.

My fellow committee members were Tom Garrison, Marvin Treiger, Vic Oliver, Chris Davis, Ron Ridenour, and Robert Hall.

We represented not only DuBois, but NVAC, the Vietnam protest, COUP, and I don't know how many other causes.

As we planned the booklet, I winced in watching a format pieced together that would only further arouse animosity toward the harassed police.

#### PROPAGANDA MACHINERY

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Jerry LeBlanc, Evening Outlook staff writer, spent 2 months underground as a member of the extreme left in Los Angeles. This is the 10th article in a series on who the leaders are, what they are attempting to accomplish and how they are trying to do it.)

(By Jerry LeBlanc)

Until I talked to the Vietnam Day Committee in Berkeley early in August, they didn't even know there was a separate Vietnam protest group in Los Angeles.

They were eager to meet me. "Let's set up a contact right now and keep in touch," one of the Berkeley full-time staffers said. "Where do you meet?" he asked me.

I was taken aback by the apparent lack of contact between Los Angeles and San Francisco Vietnam protests, having gone there to see if there were parallels, as seemed evident.

"Up to now," said another of the four Berkeley full-time staffers, "our only contacts in Los Angeles have been Darrel Myers and Jim Gallagher. Know them?"

"Oh," I said. That explained everything.

#### GETS TO RIGHT PLACE

Myers is the Young Socialist Alliance chairman and Gallagher the Socialist Party board member on the Los Angeles Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

Berkeley's protesters had been sending all their pamphlets and propaganda to them, and, of course, it got to the right places.

This is one of a hundred similar links between extreme left organizations, whose mimeograph machines day and night spew out each others propaganda and pamphlets.

#### COLLABORATORS RECKLESS

Sometimes the collaboration in propaganda borders on the reckless.

One San Francisco Vietnam protest leader complained to me that the Progressive Labor Movement had asked for his group's support in an upcoming event, and he told them he'd think about it.

"Then, before I made up my mind, they went ahead and printed everything with our name on it," he said.

When the Vietnam committee in Los Angeles was organizing the local congress of unrepresented people (COUP) we were thrashing about for a name.

I stood and spoke out, "How about 'the committee for a new government'?"

#### MORE SUBTLE TITLE

A cheer, approving laughter and applause swept the gathering at Mount Hollywood Church.

But something more appropriate finally appeared on the handbills: "COUP."

The initials of my proposed name for the committee would work out as CNG, which is meaningless. The meaning of COUP is about as subtle as a hammer.

COUP literature was printed and circulated by the Socialist Labor Party, DuBois, and other groups.

In San Francisco, DuBois mimeographed handbills promoting the August 7 rally of the congress of unrepresented people in Union Square, with the Vietnam Day Committee supplying the speakers.

DuBois' tieup with the Vietnam issue in the San Francisco Bay area also is evident in the distribution of the Michael Myerson pamphlet, "The U.S. War in Vietnam."

#### VIET ISSUES PRESSED

In Los Angeles and San Francisco areas alike, one-sided questionnaires on the Vietnam issue are being carried around door to door, in the former by DuBois Clubs, and in the latter by the Vietnam protesters.

Jimmy Garrett of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, speaking at a rally led by the Socialist Workers Party, pointed out that the Vietnam questionnaires were slanted, calculated to find people who might join the cause. Such people then are asked to sponsor neighborhood coffee discussions on the ills of the Vietnam situation.

The questionnaire is an obvious recruiting device. Propaganda is a fertile tool in the left's war of ideas. The principle of free speech, however, works both ways.

Take, for example, a Vietnam protest rally I attended the afternoon of July 31 at the Federal Building in downtown Los Angeles.

#### HANNON SPEAKS

When I arrived, an antipicket picket line of American Nazis was storming back and forth, chanting, "Reds must go."

As soon as the television cameramen lost interest in them, the Nazis packed up and left.

All the "in group" extreme left was in attendance, I noted, and we were using for the most part the same picket signs we used at the Hollywood Palladium earlier in the month.

When suspended Police Officer Mike Hannon stepped to the microphone as the main speaker, he won my admiration for sheer guts.

Hannon, suspended for his Congress of Racial Equality activities, knew he was addressing a crowd of militant leftists.

"I don't think the United States has any legitimate business in Vietnam and we are supporting a government there that is not the government of the people," he started out.

Then, as an expectant hush fell on the audience, he said: "But Ho Chi Minh's government would be no improvement. And under his type of government, people like you and me wouldn't get a chance to speak out like this. Troublemakers like me are taken off somewhere and shot."

October 19, 1965

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

26511

## THREE APPLAUD

A decided coolness settled on the bright afternoon crowd at this lack of endorsement for a glorious Red leader. In the pause, three people applauded briefly: a woman with the Strike for Peace, a curious young male passer-by who had stopped, and a man I suspected as a police infiltrator.

Hannon had made a good point.

The writers of the radical causes, perhaps leaning too far to correct what they consider to be false pictures painted in the rightist press, generally are guilty of one-sidedness and omissions in their own reports.

## CLOKE'S VERSION

Witness this lovely picture of the World Youth Festival for Peace and Friendship, as told by Kenneth Cloke, of Berkeley, in the DuBois magazine, *Insurgent*:

"For 10 days Israelis will hug Egyptians, South Africans will dance with the Dutch, Englishmen will kiss their Irish brothers."

The truth is that the Arabs threatened to boycott the scene if their Israeli brothers poked one Jewish nose into the affair. The whole peace festival was canceled abruptly when Ben Bella was overthrown and all the Reds went into hiding.

I personally saw one effect of propaganda when interviewing rioters at Lincoln Heights Jail for News Limited of Australia.

Halting a Negro just freed on bail, I introduced myself and asked for his view of the riot story.

"It was a frame-up man," he told me, and went on to described in monosyllabic, clear-cut language how the cops got the goods on him.

But in this genuine flow of words he dropped phrases like "police brutality," "economically deprived," and others, which struck a note of unnatural expression.

These are the terms harped on in hundreds of leftist circulars and by repetition have become part of the idiom. It is not a far stretch of the imagination to envision "U.S. imperialists" becoming a common phrase.

Skilled propagandists are at work in many phases of the extreme left movement. They quote Asian Red newspapers for an inside view of what really is happening in Vietnam, and seemingly exposing secrets of a hush-hush massacre, neglect to point out that an American verion of the same atrocities is available in American newspapers.

Which version is true? I never met an American reporter who wouldn't break his neck to uncover a scandal such as a massacre of villagers would create in this country's government circles.

I can't say if the official Communist press in other countries is a stickler for accuracy.

But, a British expert in oriental affairs reports in *Time* magazine, July 16, "Hanoi's three dailies take up great swatches of space reporting U.S. teach-ins and predicting the ultimate rejection of the war by the American people."

So the Vietnam protest propaganda is having its effects on both sides of the ocean.

## PEACE LEADERS SET NATIONWIDE EXPLOSION DATE

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Jerry LeBlanc, Evening Outlook staff writer, spent 2 months underground as a member of the extreme left in Los Angeles. This is the 11th in a series of articles on who the leaders are, what they are attempting to accomplish and how they are trying to do it.)

(By Jerry LeBlanc)

The peace movement has declared war. If the extreme left has its way, the Vietcong will gain a big victory 2 weeks from now not in the jungles of South Vietnam, but on a "front" here at home.

During my 2 months as an undercover reporter inside the organizations of the extreme left, I learned a lot about what can be expected.

"The next step for us must be massive civil disobedience," urges the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee in literature distributed in Los Angeles and elsewhere.

Organizing a nationwide "militant direct action" for October 15-16, the Berkeley spokesmen trumpeted that "Our massive civil disobedience aimed at blocking the U.S. war machine will send shock waves from Maine to California, and from the United States to all parts of the world."

## PROTEST AGENDA OUTLINED

"For example," suggests Berkeley's committee, "we might consider en masse breaking of the Espionage Act of 1917 and the Selective Service Act."

Also on the agenda for the protest is a massive demonstration at the Oakland Army Terminal in an effort to tie up shipment of equipment to Vietnam.

I "unjoined" myself from the extreme left early in September, but I've heard since through the grapevine that President Johnson will get the "picket treatment" personally if he visits the west coast as scheduled the same weekend.

The idea is to carry the Vietnam protest to the doorway of the Beverly Hilton Hotel, where plans calls for him to speak October 15, and to his San Francisco hotel the next day.

(Subsequent to the writing of this article, President Johnson announced he would be operated on to remove his gall bladder, forcing the cancellation of his plan to come to the west coast.)

These bold proposals are being voiced by an organization which 6 months ago existed only in the minds of some civil rights and Berkeley free speech movement activists.

I first learned of the October 15-16 plans in August from Rick Wolff, of New Haven, Conn., then a newly appointed national co-ordinator for the protest movement.

He met me on the roof of Dykstra Hall, a UCLA campus dormitory. He said he was from out of town and had picked up my name as a contact man for the Congress of Unrepresented People (COUP) in which I was active.

"I can't stress enough the importance of the October 15-16 protests," he said. "This can be the turning point in our development as a political force."

"Are you from the Berkeley unit?" I asked.

## REVEALS BACKGROUND

He said he was a Yale graduate student and he and another man had been appointed at the COUP rally in Washington to coordinate the Vietnam protest nationally.

"We've been going from city to city across the country stressing the need for concerted action," Wolff told me.

I remembered that the Communist-line newspaper *Peoples World* had reported the formation of a coordinating unit, upon the suggestion of the Berkeley leaders.

Pledging my full cooperation, I obtained from him the necessary facts to set up a connection with the temporary headquarters in Madison, Wis.

Frank Emspak is the man to contact there, he told me.

## NAMES MENTIONED

Wolff asked me if I knew about Jim Berhand, UCLA free speech movement activist and West Los Angeles DuBois member. I told him I knew who he was. Wolff said he had Berhand's name and that of Lucy Cloyd, also of West Los Angeles DuBois, and Bob Niemann, of the UCLA Vietnam Committee.

It would have been difficult to pursue the name game with Wolff much longer.

I didn't want to tell him that I deliberately steered clear of the campus Vietnam activists because of my past assignments as an Evening Outlook reporter.

I had covered the free speech movement developments there during and after the

Berkeley crisis and had interviewed student leaders—some of whom, I suspected, I might run into as a Vietnam protestor.

That might have led to recognition and embarrassing questions and a lot of explaining, and I didn't want to have to do that if I could avoid it.

The Vietnam Protest Committee and allied organizations are gathering momentum with astounding speed and rapidly expanding their physical facilities.

The Berkeley Vietnam Committee, which formally organized last May after a campus speak-in, now has a fully staffed office at 2407 Fulton Street.

In Los Angeles, the Vietnam Committee meets regularly at the Mount Hollywood Church, 4601 Prospect Avenue.

DuBois, which opened its Venice headquarters at 5 Dudley Avenue only last July, opened a central Los Angeles office at 1733 Temple Street, September 14.

## JOINT HEADQUARTERS

Students for a Democratic Society late in July announced plans to open a Los Angeles office and offered to join the Congress of Unrepresented People in a general "movement" headquarters.

And there's a fully-staffed Marxist school now operating in Los Angeles.

I found out about this development after the Federal Building rally in downtown Los Angeles July 31. We proceeded from there to 1853 South Arlington Avenue for a "painting party."

## COURSES DESCRIBED

On the second floor, we slapped some dozen rooms with a coat of paint in preparation for opening of the New Left School.

It offers to the public courses in Marxism, "imperialism" and the strategy for opposing it internationally, American Negro history, and labor, among other fields.

Most of the organizers of the New Left School already have been mentioned in this series:

Darrell Meyers, of the Young Socialist Alliance, John Haag of DuBois, Jimmy Garrett of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, Don Smith of the Congress of Racial Equality, Hugh Manes of the American Civil Liberties Union, Margaret Thorpe of the Students for a Democratic Society, James Gallagher of the Socialist Party, and Dorothy Healey, Southern California Communist Party chairman.

Writers John Howard Lawson and Harvard Wheeler also are among the 17 listed "associates" of the New Left School, but the only other organizations represented are the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, and Unitarians.

The instructors will include Marvin Treiger, who was on the DuBois committee with me preparing a slanted antipolice booklet on the Watts riots.

He also was chairman of the Youth for Peace and Socialism and has spoken at UCLA in that capacity. A Marvin Treiger was 1 of 98 arrested in the rights demonstration at the Federal Building in Los Angeles last March.

Paul Perlin, another instructor, has been active in the Young Communist League and Communist-front activities since the 1930's.

Others include "Failsafe" author Wheeler, Dorothy Healey, Socialist Workers Party Chairman Theodore Edwards, and Don Wheedin, Pasadena CORE chairman.

## POLITICAL INVASION

Meanwhile, on the political front, formation of a new party, with the respectability of the civil rights cause and the fire of the peace movement is being pressed in Los Angeles.

Stepped up ultra-left activity on all fronts is in the offing, particularly in the police brutality issue in the aftermath of the Watts violence, and in the Vietnam issue due to the escalating pace of the war.

26512

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

October 19, 1965

Vietnam is perhaps the key issue, since the war there is considered a test of whether U.S. counterinsurgency tactics can force "people's revolutions" to the negotiations table.

## PRESSES POINT

I heard Carl Bloice of the DuBois national office press the urgency of the point.

"There are other people's revolutions in the offing," he said after returning from Helsinki and Moscow this summer.

Bloice's statement was recalled to my mind by this one from the Berkeley plans for October 15-16:

"Vietnam, like Mississippi, is not an aberration—it is a mirror of America. Vietnam is American foreign policy; it is only that in Peru, Bolivia, and South Africa the revolutionary movement has not yet progressed to the point where napalm and marines are necessary."

Bloice brought the following piece of news from the Communist World to a select DuBois gathering, including myself and my wife, one night recently:

"I can promise you this. There is going to be a revolution in South Africa. I can't say exactly when, but it will be before next July 4."

## VIETNAM ISSUE IS TEST CASE FOR REVOLUTION

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Jerry LeBlanc, Evening Outlook staff writer, spent 2 months underground as a member of the extreme left in Los Angeles. This is the 12th and final article in a series on who the leaders are, what they are attempting to accomplish and how they are trying to do it.)

(By Jerry LeBlanc)

Early in September I withdrew abruptly from my activities in the DuBois Club, the Committee to End the War in Vietnam, and the Congress of Unrepresented People.

A coworker on my DuBois committee to prepare a Watts riot brochure came to my door and I just handed over my files to him. I told him I had to drop the project and he reacted with surprise, but I explained: "I know it's sudden but I've taken on a job writing a series of articles, and it's going to take all my time for the next few weeks. It's an impossible conflict."

So instead of a Marxist-slanted riot booklet, I sat down and wrote this series.

If any of my revolutionary acquaintances would now like to punch me in the nose, I urge him to remember the peace movement.

## "I'M NOBODY'S ENEMY"

I am nobody's enemy, only a reporter. I wrote of what I saw and participated in.

Those still unable to restrain their aggression toward me should make an appointment with the switchboard operator. She can fight better than I can.

Looking back over this series, browsing through more than 50 pages of notes, hundreds of leaflets and brochures that the extreme left put out, and stacks of other source materials, I reflected on my brief 2-month stand with the revolutionaries.

Early in my undercover assignment, an attractive blonde said to me, "Isn't it great how this peace issue is bringing every Socialist in town out of the woodwork?"

## ALLIANCE UNDENIABLE

"Yeah," I replied, "there seems to be a lot of different interests all getting out and working together on the same thing."

The fact of an alliance of the pacifists, the militant civil rights workers, the campus rebels, and the variegated Socialist groupings has been amply indicated in this series.

As I have stated, I never knowingly met a Communist Party card-carrier, but that's old hat anyway. The new left snickers at the idea.

Steve Roberts, 67, a member of the "old" left for years and onetime Socialist Work-

ers Party candidate for Governor of California, still keeps up with the modern-day leftists, showing up at all their major functions.

"You young people," he told one gathering, with a paternal smile, "you have really got the spirit. My generation tried its best and now we are just sort of sitting back and watching, but you youngsters have really got something going."

Roberts also was prominent in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, the biggest leftist concentration preceding the Vietnam protest.

One of that organization's national sponsors, by the way, was the late Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, for whom the DuBois clubs were named.

A new type of revolutionary may be emerging in organizations such as the DuBois and Vietnam committees, my observations indicate.

The new extreme left organizations across in the wake of the McCarran-Smith Acts, which ban the Communist Party as a subversive organization dedicated to the violent overthrow of the Government.

Today's revolutionaries openly vow the overthrow of the Government, but through political action which aims to bring the Socialist movement into power.

This tactic would seem to be the only practical approach for carrying out such an aim in this country.

In smaller, undeveloped nations, where one major city dominates, a student riot, for instance, can lead to the seizure of radio stations and swift declaration of a coup.

In the United States there are just too many cities.

## HAAG VIEW REVEALED

Talking with John Haag, Los Angeles area DuBois chairman at his Venice coffeehouse one night shortly after the Watts riots, I pointed out, "The Negroes literally took over a 50-square-mile section of the city before the National Guard got here."

"Suppose," I suggested, "a core of 1,000 or 1,500 trained guerillas or rebels, or whatever you'd call them, moved in and took command. They could have seized the radio and television stations, the police would be outnumbered, and the rebels would have control of the city."

"Then what would you do?" said Haag. "You'd just have Los Angeles—until the National Guard moved in."

He smiled. The possibility of simultaneous revolts in all of the major cities could not be taken seriously.

But then, from what I saw, no one, not even the Socialists, expected Watts to revolt either.

I do believe there is abundant evidence that the old-school Communists enjoy and take advantage of the strife caused by the civil rights youth and peace movements.

As for Vietnam, and why the extreme left is able to build a growing protest around the situation, even the Communist party line I have quoted admits this is a new type of war, "a test case" for the future of "people's revolutions."

Ignorance of the facts in the war and natural sympathy with the underdog may be taken advantage of.

Perhaps the Federal Government is experiencing a breakdown in communications with a segment of the people who do not find the current war has been justified to them, because the people of the extreme left I met generally are sincere in this belief.

## LACK OF COMMUNICATIONS

Similarly, I heard that lack of communication between local law enforcement directors and a segment of the people has been suggested as a probable contributing factor in the Los Angeles riots, which have been described as a protest.

I can understand that the tactic of using political muscle to upset the capitalist

power structure is perfectly legitimate in this democracy. But I have cited the growing trend to use civil disobedience as a tool to overthrow conditions which are believed to be wrong, a move which tends to undermine confidence in all authority and particularly in the representatives of the law.

This seems to be the heart of the new revolution, when these self-appointed minorities proclaim, as they have, that their cause is so right it exceeds the law itself, and tears down the whole system as the enemy, rather than trying to correct things through the legal process provided in a society which the majority decree.

The results always resemble riots, it seems, whether they occur in Dixie, Berkeley or Los Angeles.

At all the meetings and diverse functions I attended, despite all the talk about the bleeding Vietnamese people, no one ever took up a collection to send material aid to the people there. No one organized a food or clothing drive, or suggested an orphanage.

The 250 people who joined in on one Palladium picket line in July for 5 hours put in a total of roughly 1,250 hours of hard walking. I remember figuring as I walked that this represents 156 working days, enough effort to make a major contribution to the cause of relieving misery, frustration, and ignorance among humans.

The picketers couldn't all go to Vietnam with the Red Cross, but they could have gone to Watts.

And with that little bit of philosophy, I'll sign off.

## AMERICAN ART EXHIBITION TRAVELS TO JAPAN—A PERSON-TO-PERSON CULTURAL EXCHANGE

(Mr. MAILLIARD (at the request of Mr. HALL) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MAILLIARD. Mr. Speaker, cultural exchange programs are an important part of America's effort to favorably project its image to the peoples of the world. All too often, it is the large, public-supported program that receives the greatest amount of publicity and support.

Yet the action of a few individuals may do as much to foster good will and understanding. I would like my colleagues to know of a forthcoming cultural event which will be the result of a person-to-person cultural exchange program.

On October 22, an exhibition of American art sponsored by Dr. Frits A. Winblad, of San Francisco's Winblad Galleries, will open in Tokyo, Japan, at the Ichibankan Galleries. This event is most significant because it represents the first time in art history that a gallery-to-gallery showing has traveled from this country to Japan. The work of 30 contemporary American artists from throughout the United States will be displayed.

This exhibition will be the culmination of several years of effort by the popular Japanese artist, Takohito Mikami. Mr. Mikami came to San Francisco in 1957 under State Department auspices. Since that time, he has taught at the Presidio at Monterey, Calif., and his art classes at both Stanford and the University of California were very well-received. He has taught art nationwide on television under the aegis of the National Educational Television Network. And his accomplishments as an artist are well known;

October 19, 1965

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

26481

MUNCIE, IND.,  
October 18, 1965.Congressman CARL PERKINS,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.:

We would appreciate your support of the conference committee request on higher education bill (H.R. 9567) provision regarding National Teachers Corps, fellowships for teachers and grants to institutions of higher education for improved teacher education particularly significant to Ball State and the quality of our Teacher Education program.

JOHN R. EMEWS,  
President, Ball State University.CASPER, WYO.,  
October 18, 1965.Hon. CARL PERKINS,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.:

Will appreciate your assistance and support of conference report on H.R. 9567 the Higher Education Act of 1965 regarding scholarships for teachers in special education.

VERDA, JAMES,  
Legislation Chairman,  
Special Classes for the Handicapped, Inc.MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.,  
October 18, 1965.Representative CARL PERKINS,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.:

Sincerely hope you and your colleagues accept the conference committee report on the higher education bill as given.

WESLEY J. F. GRABOW,  
Director of Audiovisual Education Service,  
University of Minnesota.EAST ILL ST. LOUIS,  
October 18, 1965.Hon. CARL PERKINS,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.:

Our members urge you to support the conference report of House bill 9567.

CAHOKIA CHAPTER,  
Illinois Council for Exceptional Children.

CASPER, WYO., October 18, 1965.

Hon. CARL PERKINS,  
U.S. House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.:

Urge support of conference report on H.R. 9567, scholarships for teachers in special education.

PAUL E. ELLENBERG,  
Wyoming Association for  
Retarded Children.

LINCOLN, NEBR., October 18, 1965.

Hon. CARL D. PERKINS,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.:

All Nebraskans urging support and passage H.R. 9567, Higher Education Act, Tuesday 19th, and opposing recommitment to committee.

FRANK A. LUNDY,  
University of Nebraska Libraries.

HENNIKER, N.H.

CARL D. PERKINS,  
Chairman, House Subcommittee on Education,  
Washington, D.C.:

Urge quick passage of amended higher education bill of 1965, the one bill in support of small colleges.

H. RAYMOND DANFORTH,  
President, New England College.IOWA CITY, IOWA,  
October 18, 1965.Hon. CARL D. PERKINS,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.:

Higher Education Act must meet House test Tuesday. Hope you will support passage of act in present form, which could be of

enormous benefit to higher education. Apparently critics are attacking Teacher Corps provision on ground that local control of education jeopardized. In my judgment, local control fully assured, and Teachers Corps would make significant contribution.

HOWARD E. BOWEN,  
President, University of Iowa.GAS CITY, IND.,  
October 18, 1965.Hon. CARL D. PERKINS,  
Representative, House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.:

Please be present and vote against motion to recommit H.R. 9567.

INDIANA NORTHERN UNIVERSITY.

BOSTON, MASS.,  
October 18, 1965.Hon. CARL D. PERKINS,  
Representative, House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.:

Re H.R. 9567, Fisher Junior College urges you to vote against motion to recommit this bill.

S. L. FISHER,  
President.GROTON, MASS.,  
October 18, 1965.Representative CARL PERKINS,  
Washington, D.C.:

Vote "Yes" on higher education bill.

LODEMA BIXBY.

FITCHBURG, MASS.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,  
October 19, 1965.Hon. CARL D. PERKINS,  
Rayburn House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.:

The National Education Association's Board of Directors, by formal resolution on October 17, reaffirmed the NEA's support of the conference report on H.R. 9567, the Higher Education Act of 1965, including the Teacher Corps program. The NEA board represents the 940,000 members of the association. We urge your continued outstanding leadership to secure enactment of this vitally important legislation before the close of the first session of the 89th Congress.

JOHN M. LUMLEY,  
Director, Division of Federal Relations,  
National Education Association.ROCKFORD, ILL.,  
October 18, 1965.Representative CARL PERKINS,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.:

TCEC No. 39 of the Rockford area encourages your support of H.R. 9567 when it comes out of the conference committee, Tuesday, October 19, 1965.

NAOMI THALEN,  
Secretary.MOREHEAD, KY.,  
October 18, 1965.Hon. CARL D. PERKINS,  
House of Representatives,  
Congress of the United States,  
Washington, D.C.:

The industrial arts faculty at Morehead State College takes this opportunity to urge you to vote against the motion to recommit H.R. 9567 and to vote for the conference report on H.R. 9567. We certainly are grateful to you for the leadership you have so ably demonstrated in supporting legislation affecting other phases of education and trust that you will support the provision for the NDEA Institute for Industrial Arts in the same manner.

NORMAN ROBERTS,  
ROBERT NEWTON,  
CLYDE HACKLER,  
ED NASS,  
DR. C. NELSON GROTE,  
J. T. MAYS.LEXINGTON, KY.,  
October 18, 1965.Representative CARL PERKINS,  
Rayburn House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.:

I was happy to talk with you about H.R. 9567. If you can, in conscience, continue to oppose recommital of the bill and vote for its passage, higher education in Kentucky include the university and all our new community colleges will benefit therefrom.

STUART FORTH,  
Director of Libraries,  
University of Kentucky.NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
October 19, 1965.CARL D. PERKINS,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.:

We strongly support conference bill H.R. 9567 for higher education and urge its prompt ratification by the Congress.

CLARENCE C. WALTON,  
Dean, School of General Studies,  
Columbia University.HARRISBURG, PA.,  
October 19, 1965.Representative CARL D. PERKINS,  
House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.:

We respectfully urge prompt action on the Higher Education Act of 1965 in the version agreed upon by the conferees. It will provide essential support to higher education in areas of strategic need. Title VI, by assisting use of new media, will update instruction, vitalize teaching, and provide increased educational opportunity for more students. We request your support.

MARCUS KONICK,  
Director, Bureau of Instructional Materials and Service, Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction.NEWTON, MASS.,  
October 18, 1965.Hon. CARL D. PERKINS,  
House Office Building,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.:

We call your attention to Tuesday's motion to recommit H.R. 9567 to ask your support in voting against this motion.

Sister ROBERTA DEAN,  
Quinas School.PITTSBURGH, PA.,  
October 19, 1965.Hon. CARL D. PERKINS,  
U.S. House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.:

Pennsylvania State Federation CEC with over 2,000 members urge supportive action on Higher Education Act, H.R. 9567.

LORRAINE R. BRISKMAN,  
State Legislative Chairman.STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS MUST  
NOT BE MISINTERPRETED

(Mr. BOGGS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, press reports today indicate that the radio and other forms of propaganda communication in the Communist world have given a great deal of publicity to the so-called student demonstrations held in this country during the past several days.

I am certain that I speak for all Americans when I say that Moscow, Peiping, and Hanoi will have badly misread the determination of the American people if they give any significance to these so-called demonstrations.

26482

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

October 19, 1965

The Congress of the United States, as represented by both political parties, has affirmed time and time again the dedication of the American people to live up to the commitments which we have in southeast Asia. Let there be no doubt about that. These demonstrations have been infiltrated by the Communists, but they will have no success whatsoever. They represent a tiny but vocal minority. The President of the United States is pursuing a policy which has the support of the overwhelming majority of the American people. I think it well that the Communist world understand that we shall not retire from Vietnam or anywhere else in the world as long as the commitments that they have made there as elsewhere are not honored. We intend to keep our word—we do not intend to bow to Communist pressure or Communist propaganda.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from Louisiana yield?

Mr. BOGGS. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Over the past weekend, on several occasions, I, as a leader on this side of the aisle, was asked for my reaction to the student demonstrations. My reply has been that those who acted irresponsibly by the burning of draft cards and violent language have acted in a shameful and disgusting manner. They have been doing a great injustice to those who are fighting in Vietnam and those who are trying to be sure and certain that Communist aggression does not pay off.

I wish to assure the gentleman from Louisiana and the President that as long as our policy is one of firmness in South Vietnam or elsewhere throughout the world, we on this side of the aisle will stand forthrightly in opposition to the Kremlin and to Peiping.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his very fine statement.

## STATEMENT OF ONE SERVING IN VIETNAM

(Mr. HOLLAND asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, I should like to read a letter I received from a young man who is serving in Vietnam.

BIEN HOA AIR FORCE BASE,  
September 16, 1965.

Hon. ELMER J. HOLLAND,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: My travels upon graduating from the Academy last year have carried me from Fort Benning to Hawaii to Vietnam. I'm now serving with a helicopter company at Bien Hoa. I have a platoon of volunteer "shot gunners" from the 25th Infantry Division in Hawaii. We ride as door gunners on the helicopters during assaults. We are all well equipped, well clothed, and well fed here. Our company just received the latest UH-1D helicopters made by Bell. They are faster and more powerful than our old ones.

We work 7 days a week, with our people flying every day. It's pretty much the same all over, but some people don't have the advantage of hot meals and a dry place to sleep that we enjoy here at the air base. It's a tough life, but no one complains. People

do feel disappointed though when we read in the papers about students trying to stop troop trains and people rushing to get married to avoid the draft.

It seems as though our strategy is working and we've turned the tide, but there is still much to be done. The biggest mistake we could make now is to stop bombing North Vietnam. We learned in Korea that negotiations can last for years if you let up the pressure when you go to the conference table. The American troops here are doing real well. There is a growing impatience with the armed Republic of Vietnam lack of competence and initiative. It's a shame Americans have to do all the dirty work, but then these people have been fighting for many years and probably don't realize the gravity of the situation.

The pay raise was thoroughly appreciated by all. I know it helped me a lot. I got married in August. My wife's parents are stationed at Schofield Barracks in Hawaii.

I enjoy my work as an officer in the Army and wish to thank you again for providing me with an appointment to the Academy. Many of my classmates from West Point are serving here now and I run into them occasionally at the most improbable places.

Respectfully yours,  
THOMAS G. FAULDS,  
2d Lieutenant, U.S. Army.

## STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS

(Mr. DENT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I yield to the majority leader.

Mr. ALBERT. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I take this time to say I am very happy that the distinguished Democratic whip and the distinguished Republican leader have expressed what I believe is not only the sentiment of the leadership but, I am sure, the sentiment of this House with respect to the military and political situation in Vietnam and also with respect to the misguided, if not, in the case of some participants in teach-ins and other demonstrations, subversive acts which almost amount to treason.

I believe the country and the world should know that not only the leadership but also the Congress is united in supporting the President and the action he has taken and in announcing to the world that these recent demonstrations reflect only a minute sampling of sentiment within the ranks of a very small minority of our people and particularly of our young people. Let friend and foe alike know that our people are united in their patriotism and in support of the strong policies of the President.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I am glad to yield to the minority leader.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I believe it is very important to reaffirm what the gentleman from Oklahoma has said. These demonstrators do represent a very, very small percentage of the students and the youth of this country. It would be a serious mistake on the part of the enemy to believe that these demonstra-

tors represent a substantial part to any degree of the youth of America.

If the enemy should make a miscalculation, in the belief that there was a division or a lack of unity in our opposition to Communist aggression it would be a serious error for them. We should warn the young people of the serious consequences, if their demonstrations and their irresponsible actions do lead to a miscalculation on the part of the Communist, whether in the Kremlin or Peiping.

Mr. ALBERT. I thank the gentleman. I certainly agree.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I wish to concur in the remarks made by both the minority and majority leaders.

(Mr. DENT asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

## DEMONSTRATIONS ON VIETNAM POLICY

(Mr. DORN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I want to join my distinguished colleagues, the majority leader, Mr. ALBERT, the whip, Mr. BOGGS, and Mr. GERALD R. FORD, the minority leader, in the statements they made to the House with reference to the demonstrations, teach-ins, and draft card burnings in the United States. I think there is a very definite connection between these demonstrations and the worldwide Communist conspiracy.

## HOUSE SHOULD INVESTIGATE "PEACE DEMONSTRATIONS"

Mr. Speaker, the present wave of teach-ins, draft card burnings, and demonstrations against our policy in Vietnam are designed to directly aid the military aggression of Peiping and Hanoi. These demonstrations are carefully timed with the ending of the monsoon season when the Communist aggressor in South Vietnam will be faced with increasing American military pressure.

Mr. Speaker, we are winning in South Vietnam. We prevented a Communist takeover in Santo Domingo, we are winning the economic war, we are gaining in space, and the Communists out of desperation are instigating worldwide demonstrations. These demonstrations are a dangerous and sinister part of the Communist war against civilization.

Yesterday official newspaper mouthpieces of Moscow and Peiping praised the demonstrators in the United States and again lambasted our Vietnam policy. North Vietnam in its official newspaper at Hanoi paid tribute to the American demonstrators and referred to our policymakers here in Washington as "bloodthirsty."

Mr. Speaker, make no mistake about it. These teach-ins, peace demonstrations and draft card burnings are supported by Kosygin, Mao Tse-tung, and Ho Chi Minh. It is a diabolical scheme to undermine the morale of our men on the fighting front and dupe innocent people in the United States.

Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a House resolution which would provide for a complete investigation of the connection between teach-ins, peace demonstrations, draft card burnings, and the Communist world conspiracy. This resolution would create a select committee of 13 Members of this House to thoroughly investigate these demonstrations and related activities and report to the Congress and to the people of this country for remedial action.

Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. Speaker, there has been of late a great deal of concern evidenced here about students and other demonstrators who in order to protest U.S. involvement in Vietnam lie in front of trains, disrupt communications and so forth. Recent newspaper headlines proclaimed what apparently was a great victory when the FBI arrested one such demonstrator for burning his draft card.

Were it up to me, Mr. Speaker, I would instead call to the attention of the Members of the House another article that was carried by UPI on October 14 wherein it was stated that a soldier in the U.S. Army had gone on a hunger strike to protest being sent to Vietnam, was subsequently charged with neglect of duty, tried, convicted and sentenced to prison. Yet, a U.S. Army commanding general went behind the court-martial, did away with the convicted accused's punishment and an official Army spokesman gave as the reason that "the whole idea—was to play it as low key as possible and avoid publicity." What he meant was that the Army, too, is afraid of the "demonstrations" which have been influencing our national policies for the past few years.

Mr. Speaker, today, with Communist misled youngsters demonstrating violently against our war with the Communists in Vietnam, it would seem that our Federal authorities would do everything possible to maintain the morale of our fighting troops.

I wonder how the men in U.S. uniforms in the ambush-ridden jungles of South Vietnam feel about the deal made with Pvt. Winstel R. Belton which has made it possible for him to escape the legally imposed consequences of his despicable actions.

Private Belton, described by UPI as "a former civil rights worker from Milwaukee," went on a hunger strike August 13 to 18 to avoid serving his country when he learned that his unit, the proud 1st Cavalry Division, was being shipped to Vietnam. Private Belton, as I noted, was tried by a military court on October 6 on charges of neglect of duty, was found guilty, and sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment, a bad-conduct discharge, and loss of pay.

As the inevitable storm of protest which seeks to protect such sacrosanct demonstrators as Private Belton began to burst forth, however, it was learned that the Army, unknown to the court-martial, had made a deal with Private Belton promising him a sentence not to exceed 1 year in prison, a bad-conduct discharge and loss of pay in return for his plea of guilty to the lesser charge of malinger-

ing. But even this was apparently not enough. Incredible as it may seem, shortly thereafter, 4th Army commander Lt. Gen. R. W. Colglazier suspended the entire sentence and made it possible for Private Belton to receive an honorable discharge without a blot on his record if only he successfully completes the remaining 8 months of his tour of duty. The only punishment whatsoever is to be a loss of rank from private first class to private. How can this possibly be justified?

Mr. Speaker, I would suggest that the mothers and wives whose sons and husbands have been killed and wounded in Vietnam find very little solace in the fact that the Army was able to dispatch the matter of Pvt. Winstel R. Belton "in as low (a) key as possible and avoid publicity." I would suggest that Private Belton's fellow soldiers who are serving their country with valor and honor in Vietnam find very little comfort in the fact that one of his lawyers feels Belton has taken the "first step toward rehabilitation by pleading guilty." Who wants to fight alongside a man who might turn and run? Why endanger the brave Americans in Vietnam with the presence of a man who might decide in the face of enemy fire that a "surrender-in" demonstration might be in order?

I suggest, my distinguished colleagues, that Lieutenant General Colglazier has now capped his career with his actions in these premises. It should be the subject of a congressional investigation.

As for Private Belton, possibly it would be in order to strike a new official award from the Government of the United States and present it to him. It could be called, Mr. Speaker, the "Benedict Arnold Award."

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, to introduce in the Record the UPI report on this matter published in the Alabama Journal in Montgomery, October 14, 1965.

#### HUNGER STRIKER FROM FORT BENNING ORDERED TO COMBAT DUTY IN VIETNAM

SAN ANTONIO, TEX.—Pvt. Winstel R. Belton, 26, who went on a hunger strike to keep from going to Vietnam, today was under orders to rejoin his old outfit, the 1st Cavalry Division, now fighting in the Vietnamese central highlands.

Belton, a former football player and civil rights worker from Milwaukee, was convicted by a court-martial October 6 on a charge of neglect of duty and handed a 5-year prison term.

But in the pre-arranged deal, the Army suspended the sentence in return for a guilty plea by Belton. The Army said Belton had implied a willingness to fulfill his duty by serving in Vietnam.

Belton received no penalty except loss of rank from private first class to private. He will be honorably discharged if he successfully completes his remaining 8 months of his hitch, the Army said.

Lt. Gen. R. W. Colglazier, commander of the 4th Army, issued the order Wednesday after studying the prenegotiated court martial sentence against Belton.

Belton went on a hunger strike at Fort Benning, Ga., last August 13-18 when the 1st Cavalry Division shipped out to Vietnam.

Belton, a studious-looking Negro who holds a bachelors degree in fine arts from

Arizona State University, asked to be tried in the 4th Army District.

At the trial, one of Belton's military lawyers, Capt. Joseph Caneba, Jr., said Belton realized he made a mistake but took "the first step toward rehabilitation by pleading guilty."

"The whole idea of it was to play it as low key as possible and avoid publicity," an Army prosecutor said. Before the negotiated plea was announced, the defense had questioned the legality of U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

#### UNIVERSITY STUDENTS WHO SUPPORT OUR COUNTRY'S POLICY IN VIETNAM

(Mr. CEDERBERG asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, I share the concern of others in this body regarding the demonstrations which have taken place over last weekend. It is tragic to see some of our professors and young men and women who fall prey to an ideology that is dedicated to the destruction of a fundamental right that we have in this country, the right of freedom of assembly and to demonstrate. These misguided citizens are abusing this right.

However, Mr. Speaker, it is heartening to find on the wire services today, on the UPI service, a statement to the effect that 500 Boston University students have signed their names to a resolution supporting President Johnson's policy in Vietnam.

The wire states as follows:

A resolution was circulated by leaders of the university's Young Democrat and Young Republican Clubs to counter weekend demonstrations by students against U.S. policy in Vietnam.

Officials of the 2 clubs, after 4 hours of signature collecting, said they hope to obtain 3,000 signatures by the end of the week.

Then, Mr. Speaker, there is included in that release the following article:

VILLANOVA, PA.—Villanova University students plan to send 20,000 greeting cards to U.S. servicemen in Vietnam for Christmas as a countermeasure to the demonstrations against the Vietnam fighting.

Also contained in the release is a statement as follows:

Frank Eck, of Richmond, Va., president of the Student Government Association, said each of the 4,500 undergraduate students at the university will be urged to send 5 Christmas cards to the servicemen.

The cards will be delivered by "mail call Vietnam," at nearby Bryn Mawr, an organization formed about 1 week ago to "see that every serviceman in Vietnam receives a greeting at Christmas."

Mr. Speaker, I commend these students who are indicating their support of their country's policy which emphasizes the fact that the outstanding and overwhelming number of our young people support our Government in this action.

I want to commend both the Boston University and the students at Villanova University, and other universities, for taking this stand. We know that they are in the majority and that the mis-

guided young people who are using this demonstration technique are in the minority, but they seem to be getting the press. I hope the press will give more attention to our dedicated students who are actively supporting their Government and appreciate the precious heritage that is theirs.

#### EXTENSION OF FEDERAL MEAT INSPECTION

(Mr. SMITH of Iowa asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

ANALYSIS OF H.R. 11670, A BILL TO EXTEND FEDERAL MEAT INSPECTION

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, following is an analysis of the administration's proposal to extend Federal meat inspection. The bill I have promoted for several years covers slaughter in those plants large enough to be covered for labor-management relations purposes by the Taft-Hartley law. The administration's bill covers most other establishments also unless they are subject to adequate State inspection or the Secretary of Agriculture exempts them because their volume of operation is too small for inspection to be practicable or necessary to protect the public. The detailed analysis follows:

ANALYSIS OF BILL AMENDING THE MEAT INSPECTION ACT

Section 1. The legislation authorizing Federal meat inspection consists of provisions in the Department of Agriculture Appropriation Act of March 4, 1907, as amended. The first section of the bill would designate such provisions as the Meat Inspection Act and assign section numbers to the presently undesigned paragraphs.

Section 2. This section makes statutory findings regarding the interstate nature of commerce in meat and meat food products, the burdening effect of intrastate commerce in unwholesome meat upon interstate commerce in meat and the need to regulate intrastate commerce in order to effectively regulate interstate commerce in furtherance of the purpose of the act.

Section 3. This section would extend the inspection requirements of the act to the slaughtering of cattle, sheep, swine, or goats, and the preparation of the carcasses, parts thereof, meat or meat food products of such animals, for intrastate commerce. The present act applies to such operations for purposes of interstate or foreign commerce. The section also makes ante mortem inspection mandatory whereas it is now discretionary.

Section 4. This section would delete limiting language to make it clear that the post mortem inspection provisions of the act apply to articles "capable of use as human food" rather than intended for such use and eliminate other restrictive terminology.

Section 5. This section would clarify authority of the Secretary of Agriculture to restrict entry of carcasses, parts thereof, meat, and meat food products into federally inspected establishments to federally inspected articles moved directly from other federally inspected establishments or from other locations under conditions necessary to assure that the articles were federally inspected and are not adulterated, and otherwise in compliance with the act. Authority to regulate the entry of other materials would also be clarified.

Section 6. This section would clarify the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture to regulate all aspects of the labeling, marking, and packaging of articles specified in the bill,

to prevent the use of false or misleading labels, marks, or containers. Controls have been exercised by the Secretary over such matters for many years and these changes will not have any impact on the regulated industry. Provision would be made for appeal and judicial review of disapproval of marks, labels, and containers comparable to that contained in the Poultry Products Inspection Act (21 U.S.C. 457) which served as a model for many of the provisions in this section of the bill. Specific authority is vested in the Secretary to establish standards of identity and fil of container not inconsistent with such standards as may be established under the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act and the Secretary of Agriculture and Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare are to consult prior to issuance of standards under these acts to avoid inconsistency.

Section 7. This section would strengthen the principal prohibitory section of the act by (a) including horses, mules, or other equines and specifically prohibiting the slaughtering of animals or preparation of articles, specified in the bill, except in compliance with the act; (b) prohibiting sale, transportation, and other specified transactions with respect to meat and other specified articles capable of use as human food if they are adulterated, unfit for human food, or misbranded; (c) prohibiting the doing of acts which are intended to cause or have the effect of causing such specified articles to be adulterated, unfit for human food, or misbranded. (The provisions in this section of the bill are comparable to provisions in section 301 of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 331) although they would apply somewhat more broadly to intrastate as well as to interstate or foreign commerce.)

Section 8. This section of the bill would (a) clarify the application to brand manufacturers and printers, of a prohibition now in the act against counterfeiting official marks, etc.; (b) clarify the provisions of the act with respect to forgery, unauthorized use or failure to use official marks, etc., and similar offenses; (c) add a restriction upon possession of official devices, or devices, labels, meat, meat products, or other articles bearing counterfeit official marks, and similar items, and add a prohibition against knowingly making any false representation that any article has been inspected and passed under the act. (These provisions are modeled after provisions in section 203(h) of the Agricultural Marketing Act of 1946, as amended (7 U.S.C. 1622(h)); and (d) clarify prohibitions with respect to false statements in official or nonofficial certificates.

Section 9. This section disqualifies for inspection under the act the slaughtering of cattle, sheep, swine, goats, horses, mules, or other equines, and the preparation of the carcasses, or parts or products thereof, not intended for human food, and would require such articles to be denatured or otherwise identified as prescribed by the Secretary to deter their use as human food, unless they are naturally inedible by humans.

Section 10. This section would clarify the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture to dispose of carcasses, parts thereof, meat and meat food products which are prepared at a federally inspected establishment when not under the supervision of an inspector or are prepared otherwise in violation of the regulations. This could include condemnation of the articles if they were so prepared that their fitness for human food and freedom from adulteration could not be ascertained. This section also preserves the general authority for rules and regulations conferred by the act notwithstanding the provisions for specific kinds of regulations.

Section 11. This section and section 14 of the bill (which would add section 31 to the act) would make uniform provision in the

act for the responsibility of principals for acts of their agents.

Section 12. Paragraph (a), in conjunction with the definition of a "farmer" and a "retail dealer" in section 14 of the bill (which would add section 34 to the act) would clarify and restrict the present authority for exemptions from inspection for farmers and retail dealers. Exemptions would also be authorized for farmers and retail dealers from other specific provisions of the act. Exemptions under this paragraph would apply to operations for interstate, foreign or intrastate commerce. Paragraph (b) concerns exemptions from inspection or other specific provisions of the act with respect to establishments slaughtering cattle, sheep, swine, or goats or preparing products solely for distribution within the State, territory, or District of Columbia in which the establishment is located and provides for such exemptions in specified alternative situations: (1) in case of adequate regulation by the State or other jurisdiction concerned; or (2) in case the volume of operations is so minor as not to substantially affect interstate or foreign commerce.

Paragraph (c) would authorize exemptions for operations and transactions at a retail store, restaurant, or similar place of business if inspection or application of the other specific provisions of the act is found to be unnecessary for protection of the public or impracticable. It is not contemplated that continuous inspection would be maintained over the preparation of meat, etc. at retail stores. The authority for inspection of retail level activities should be available, however, for the occasional instances in which it is necessary for the protection of consumers.

Paragraph (d) would authorize the Secretary to impose conditions and restrictions upon any exemptions under this section. Paragraph (e) would prohibit distribution of exempted articles contrary to any such condition or restriction upon such exemption. Paragraph (f) would exclude from regulation under the act certain operations by any farmer in preparing meat or other specified articles for use by his family and certain other persons; and also would exclude from the act, with certain restrictions, the distribution of the unused portion of such articles prepared incidental to such use.

Section 13. This section and the definition of "adulterated" in section 14 of the bill (which would add new section 34 to the act) would clarify the regulatory authority of the Department to prevent adulteration of carcasses, parts thereof, meat, and meat food products and commerce in such articles when adulterated.

Section 14. This section would add 15 new sections to the act.

New section 22 would transfer the import meat provisions from section 306(b) of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U.S.C. 1306(b)) to the Meat Inspection Act, clarify their application to carcasses, parts thereof, and meat food products, as well as meat, and clarify the authority of this Department to impose labeling (including foreign origin labeling) requirements and requirements to bar adulterated articles.

New section 23 would prohibit the distribution in interstate, foreign or intrastate commerce of carcasses, parts thereof, meat or meat food products of horses, or other equines unless they are identified to show the kinds of animals from which they were derived and authorize requirement that they be handled separately from other animals or meats.

New section 24 would authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to prescribe conditions for storage and other handling of carcasses, parts thereof, meat and meat food products of the specified animals, which are capable of use as human food, by persons engaged in the business of buying, selling, freezing, storing, transporting or otherwise handling such articles.

October 19, 1965

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

26485

New section 25: Paragraph (a) would authorize recordkeeping requirements with respect to, and afford access to the records and premises of, slaughterers and processors of carcasses, or parts or products of carcasses of the specified animals; inedible products renderers; meat brokers; importers; transportation agencies; and other specified classes of operators. It would also make applicable in enforcement of the Meat Inspection Act, provisions of the Federal Trade Commission Act and the Communications Act of 1934, as amended, authorizing requirement of reports and administrative subpoenas and conferring other investigative and hearing powers.

(b) This paragraph would require registration of meat brokers, inedible products renderers, animal food manufacturers, wholesalers, and certain public warehousemen handling carcasses, or parts or products of the carcasses of the specified animals, and other specified classes of operators.

New section 26 would permit regulation of the distribution of dead, dying, crippled, or diseased animals or parts of carcasses of animals that died otherwise than by slaughter, e.g., of natural causes.

New section 27 would authorize the refusal or withdrawal of inspection services with respect to any establishment if the applicant or recipient is found unfit to engage in any business requiring inspection under the act because of the commission of certain types of crimes or specified degrees of association with persons convicted of certain crimes, or for other specified causes. Opportunity for hearing would be provided in connection with such actions. Authority to refuse or withdraw inspection for other specified reasons would be preserved and clarified.

New section 28 would provide authority for the temporary detention of carcasses, parts thereof, meat or meat food products, or articles exempted from the definition of a meat food product, when there is reason to believe that they may be adulterated, unfit for food, misbranded or otherwise in violation of the act or other Federal or State acts dealing with the wholesomeness of such products.

New section 29 would authorize judicial seizure and condemnation proceedings for certain carcasses, parts thereof, meat and meat food products that are adulterated, unfit for human food, misbranded or otherwise in violation of the act, while being transported or held for sale or donation at any level of distribution in the United States.

New section 30 would authorize injunctions to enforce, or restrain violations of, the act and specify the courts to have jurisdiction of cases arising under the act other than labeling cases within the jurisdiction of the U.S. Court of Appeals under section 5(e) of the act.

New section 31 as noted earlier, would provide for the responsibility of principals for acts or omissions of their agents.

New section 32: Paragraph (a) would authorize cooperation with the States or other jurisdictions in initiation or administration of adequate State or local meat inspection laws with respect to cattle, sheep, swine, goats, horses, mules, or other equines and carcasses, parts thereof, meat and meat food products.

Paragraph (b) would provide for, and outline conditions of, cooperation with the States or other jurisdictions in the conduct of inspection required under the Federal act.

Paragraph (c) "State" is defined for purposes of the section to include any governmental subdivision thereof.

New section 33 defines the relationship between the Meat Inspection Act and the laws of the States and other jurisdictions. It includes provision that as to articles inspected under the act States may not have additional or inconsistent labeling, packaging, or ingredient requirements.

New section 34 contains definitions of numerous terms used in the act. The definition of meat food product in paragraph (a) is in accord with long continued practice in administration of the act and clarifies the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture to except articles from the definition. Such excepted articles are subject to the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare may require under section 18 of the bill that meat or meat food products used therein must have been inspected under this act. The term applied to products of equines has the same comparable meaning as to cattle, sheep, swine, and goats.

Paragraph (b) would provide a definition of the term "prepared" which would determine the kind of establishments required to be inspected or exempted under the act.

Paragraphs (c), (d), and (e) define the terms "official mark," "official inspection legend," and "official certificate" and are self-explanatory.

Paragraphs (f) through (i) would define the territorial applicability of the act and would extend it to the unorganized unincorporated possessions of the United States. The term "commemrce" would be defined to include interstate, foreign, and intrastate commerce.

Paragraphs (j) through (m) would define the terms "adulterated," "misbranded," "label," and "labeling" in a manner almost identical to the definition of the term in the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act.

Paragraph (n) defines the term "Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act."

Paragraph (o) defines the terms "pesticide chemical," "food additive," "color additive," and "raw agricultural commodity" identical to the definition of the terms in the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act.

Paragraphs (p) through (w) define the terms "capable of use as human food," "farmer," "retail dealer," "household consumer," "firm," "meat broker," "inedible products rendered," and "animal food manufacturer" and are self-explanatory.

New section 35: This section reduces the penalties for violation of provisions of the act to a misdemeanor level except that if the violation involves intent to defraud or mislead or the distribution or attempted distribution of an article that is adulterated the violation is then subject to felony penalties. An exception is made for a person, firm, or corporation that receives in good faith any article for sale or transportation which is in violation of the act, and furnishes upon request of a representative of the Department of Agriculture the name and address of the person from whom he purchased or received such article and any other pertinent information. The Secretary need not refer for prosecution or other enforcement action minor violations where it is decided a warning will be in the public interest.

New section 36 would authorize the appropriation of such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of the act. The costs for overtime and holiday work and for supervising the application of official inspection legends to domestic or imported inspected articles subdivided, repackaged, or relabeled elsewhere than where they were originally inspected by inspectors of this Department, and the portion of the costs of inspection that exceeds appropriations therefor are to be borne by those receiving such service.

Section 15. This section would provide penalties for assaults and similar offenses against inspectors and others who perform official duties under any act administered by the Secretary of Agriculture.

Section 16. This section of the bill would repeal the present Horse Meat Act, the act of June 5, 1948, relating to cost of inspec-

tion, the overtime pay provisions of the act of July 24, 1919, and the import meat provisions of the Tariff Act of 1930, since they relate to matters covered by other provisions of the bill.

Section 17. This section is the usual separability provision.

Section 18. (1) Provides that the enactment of this bill shall not derogate from authority vested under the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act prior to such enactment.

(2) Makes articles misbranded or adulterated under this act subject to action under the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act.

(3) The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is also vested with the detainer authority under section 28 with respect to carcasses, parts thereof, and products thereof.

(4) Secretary may authorize Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to exercise factory inspection authority in plants under inspection.

(5) With respect to articles exempted from definition of "meat food product" because of minor nature of meat content the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare in exercising his authority over such articles may require that the meat used therein be only such as has been inspected under this act.

Section 19. Paragraph (a) specifies an effective date which is upon enactment, except as otherwise provided in new subparagraphs (1) through (8).

Subparagraph (1) provides for not imposing certain requirements of the amendments of the Meat Inspection Act to any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia until the expiration of 180 days after the enactment.

Subparagraph (2) provides additional extension of time for the application of the Meat Inspection Act in order for a State or Territory to develop a meat inspection system at least the substantial equivalent of the requirements under the Meat Inspection Act.

Subparagraph (3) provides for 90 day further extension of time for inspection in any establishment when the Secretary determines it is impracticable to provide such inspection.

Subparagraph (4) provides for an additional 2 years of relief with respect to facility requirements beyond subparagraphs (1), (2), and (3) under adequate safeguards for then existing plants which prepare regulated articles for distribution solely within the State or other jurisdiction and which cannot fully meet the plant construction and facilities requirements under the bill.

Subparagraphs (5) through (8) specify effective dates for specific sections and provisions of the act.

Paragraph (b) would not preclude the application of State or local laws not in conflict with the act during the periods provided for in (a).

## DEMONSTRATIONS

(Mr. HAYS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, it is very heartening to me to see the concern expressed here on the floor about the demonstrations over the weekend. I remember some weeks ago when I spoke out against certain Members of this body holding hearings, public hearings, in the guise of congressional hearings, to allow these people to air their views, I stood almost alone.

I am sure that some of the so-called teach-ins and other demonstrations over

the weekend were encouraged by the fact that Members of Congress themselves were encouraging this kind of thing a few short weeks ago.

I think it is interesting to note that these same Members of Congress have dropped this ill-advised procedure, and we have not heard much about so-called hearings for people to express their displeasure with what is going on in Vietnam.

I agree with the gentleman from South Carolina, we are winning the war in Vietnam, and that is why the Communists are getting excited. I think it is also significant that the Communist newspaper in New York took after me when I made my statement before.

I welcome that kind of criticism.

#### MEDICAL EDUCATION IN THE VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION

(Mr. KORNEGAY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend the gentleman from Texas [Mr. TEAGUE], my chairman, for his leadership and foresight in introducing a bill which seeks to provide a new day for the medical care available to the veterans of this country. I wish to associate myself completely with him in this effort, and consequently I have introduced an identical bill.

Briefly, Mr. Speaker, the bill seeks to provide for closer cooperation between the medical schools of this country and the Veterans' Administration. This cooperation, which has existed for nearly 20 years, has been of tremendous value and importance in providing for the care of the sick and disabled veteran of all of our wars. For many years now, the Veterans' Administration has been cooperating to the limit of its resources by taking money from the only source which was available in its appropriation. Namely, this has been the medical administration item—to finance the necessary cooperation between the 78 medical schools with which the Veterans' Administration is affiliated. Great advances in medicine have been made during the past 20 years, and in order for the Veterans' Administration to keep up, there have been ever-increasing demands for the expenditure of larger sums of money for medical education. It is not fair or reasonable that this money should come out of funds intended primarily for patient care. I do not offer any criticism but rather commendation for the Veterans' Administration for its action in the past. By spending this money for medical education the Veterans' Administration has saved the lives of countless veterans who otherwise might have died.

I would like to read at this point the eloquent statement made by Dr. John L. Parks, member of the executive counsel of the Association of American Medical Colleges, and dean of the School of Medicine of George Washington University here in Washington, before the Subcommittee on Hospitals in May of 1964:

For more than a decade, immediately following World War II, a highly effective working relationship developed between the Nation's medical schools and the Veterans' Administration hospitals. Deans' committees helped establish, in the medical school affiliated VA hospitals, very capable professional staffs. Academic appointments attracted highly qualified physicians who were interested in the combined Veterans' Administration-medical school services. With the establishment and demonstration of the principle that an individual's health needs are best served by physicians who have inseparable responsibilities for teaching, research, and patient care, VA hospital became important educational as well as patient care centers. Over a 10- to 15-year period, academically minded full-time Veterans' Administration staff physicians, assisted by medical school-appointed attending and consultant staffs provided the veteran with superb medical care. Many advances in our knowledge of cardiac conditions, infectious diseases, hypertension, psychiatric illnesses, circumstances of aging and chronic diseases such as rheumatoid arthritis and tuberculosis have resulted from research conducted in VA hospitals. A large number of the Nation's leading medical educators have served as Veterans' Administration staff physicians. A close working relationship has been maintained throughout all the 17 years of affiliation between the Veterans' Administration and the Nation's medical schools. The importance of the medical schools to the VA organization and in turn the significance of utilization of Veterans' Administration hospital facilities for educational purposes is attested to by the following information from a 1964 AAMC survey of the Veterans' Administration hospital-medical school relations.

Ninety-six VA hospitals are affiliated with 78 medical schools. More than three-fourths of the junior medical students in the United States receive part of their clinical experience in veterans hospitals. A total of \$3,885 out of 7,321 registered senior medical students have a part of their fourth year clinical training in VA hospitals. Approximately 10 percent of all residencies are in VA hospitals. Many of America's best specialty training programs have developed through combined university and affiliated VA hospital programs; 15 percent of all practicing physicians have received part of or all of their specialty training in Veterans' Administration hospitals.

The importance and magnitude of this partnership arrangement between the medical schools and the Veterans' Administration have been stressed to demonstrate the tremendous contributions that have been made not only to the health of the veterans but to the advancement of medical science and medical education in the United States through these affiliations.

Over the past few years the deans have been concerned by a series of circumstances that have developed in the VA hospitals which have decreased the effectiveness and the stability of the medical school-VA affiliation. University and community hospital resources have rapidly expanded making available for the teaching of clinical medicine many excellent resources that were not present 10 years ago. Some of the VA-university affiliated hospitals have not kept pace with the advances of other medical schools resources. Personnel, equipment, and space that formerly provided an excellent care program for veterans are inadequate in some respects to meet present-day needs. For example, it has been very difficult to maintain high quality personnel to staff clinical laboratories, departments of anesthesiology, and diagnostic and therapeutic X-ray services. VA salary scales have remained too low. The

competition for physicians who have academic interests and excellent clinical abilities is increasing. It is our understanding that the pay bill currently before Congress would provide appreciable salary increases for senior personnel. The association believes that an upward adjustment of the salary scale for VA physicians is essential to the maintenance and advancement of health services for American veterans.

The advantages of the Veterans' Administration-medical school partnership become abundantly apparent. With 169 hospitals and 6,500 physicians, the Veterans' Administration maintains the largest hospital service under a single organization in the world. Out of this vast VA hospital service program, it would seem advantageous for all concerned to concentrate on making the 96 VA hospitals affiliated with medical schools special health centers where diagnostic and research problems receive the immediate and comprehensive attention of highly qualified physicians and research scientists working with the best equipment. These hospitals form a major training area for manpower in the health fields. At a time when all resources must be used to the fullest to provide America and the world with physicians, nurses, dentists, and allied health personnel, the veterans facilities must advance at a high level of academic effectiveness. Medical educators have enthusiastically volunteered to help develop and maintain medical school affiliated VA hospitals as model medical centers serving the health needs of American veterans and contributing to the progress of medicine through research and education. You may count on the medical schools to continue this mutually advantageous partnership with the VA hospitals.

The bill which I have the honor to sponsor with the chairman of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs seeks to make our intent crystal clear to those myopic individuals in the Bureau of the Budget who insist on doing everything in their power to hamper the legislative activities of the Department of Medicine and Surgery in the Veterans' Administration.

Mr. Speaker, with all due humility, I want to say that I have a deep interest in and perhaps a unique insight into this problem. It is my good fortune to serve on the Veterans' Affairs Committee and also on the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. This latter committee has reported and enacted into law numerous pieces of legislation in this Congress, which represent a tremendous advance in the scientific and medical world and which represent billions of dollars in expenditures. All of us, of course, are willing to support legislation which will extend or better the lives of mankind, which will make more likely the cure of cancer or stroke or heart disease or any other of the numerous maladies which affect the people of this world, but largely due to the efforts of the little group of "willful men" centered in the Bureau of the Budget, the Veterans Administration is being cutoff, hampered and harassed at every stage by some faceless bureaucrats in the Bureau of the Budget who cannot and will not see problems—or even the solutions to the problems, as proposed. There primary concern, it seems to stifle congressional intent.

By their own arbitrary actions, these Budget Bureaucrats virtually halt the

made available on an inservice basis to educate the regular teachers in the most efficacious methods of teaching in Project Prevention. In addition, a complete staff of fully trained and experienced reading specialists, sociologists, psychologists, and other personnel must be part of the project to provide the firm and intelligent leadership so very necessary in enterprises of this kind. Because of the need for carefully trained and prepared workers, volunteers would only be used in an auxiliary capacity.

By no means would this Project Prevention be a mere extension of the school year. Summer is summer, and relaxation—even for 8-year-olds—is necessary. I believe that a well-balanced program of recreation, games, and other constructive activity would serve to make the remedial instruction more palatable and therefore more effective.

Children with disabilities would be invited to join the program by school authorities after consultations among the child's teacher, parents, and school authorities. A trained staff member would be assigned to work with each family during the course of their child's participation in the program to insure maximum retentive benefits. It is neither our right nor responsibility to barge unwanted and uninvited into the lives of either a child or his family. Therefore, this whole program would hinge on the cooperation of the parents. And it has been proven that parents, when faced with a crisis in their child's life, will become aware of the best course to take for the child. Family life has much to do with each child's academic and behavioral deportment. If a problem in the home environment can at least be identified, the benefits of the project to the child will not be negated.

Physical disabilities are often responsible for those in reading and speech. A complete and thorough physical examination of every child in Project Prevention would be required. The cursory examination usually provided by school authorities is insufficient to disclose any physical defects which would cause a reading disability. An eye ailment, even though minor, can retard reading progress. A child who does not see the blackboard clearly will soon lose interest in learning, and then the syndrome start. Success in this area has been evidenced in Project Head Start.

Extensive testing programs, administered and formulated by each individual school district but conforming to a statewide minimum standard, should be required on a year-round basis of those districts participating in Project Prevention so as to facilitate identification of problem readers and the so-called underachievers. No Federal test should be required, and the respective State departments of education should establish the guidelines for the testing programs of the individual districts participating. This would, of course, be part of the project's appropriation.

Such a summer program is not novel. Ecclesiastes tells us that there is nothing new under the sun, and this is so. But it is novel in this form. Other similar and related efforts have shown that a program like Project Prevention is both feasible and necessary.

Project Head Start has met with success with the children involved, although the redtape has bogged down the program in many areas and has detracted from its value. But while Head Start has an economic basis, Project Prevention must be founded strictly on need—need for correction. It is a sound, locally controlled educational program.

Summer programs are currently in use in many school districts, but constitute in most cases only a kind of free day camp. Nature study, cartoons, and baseball are stressed. There is, however, a rather progressive effort taking place in Garden City, N.Y., in the Fourth Congressional District, wherein a

limited number of children are exposed to a learning experience similar to that described in the foregoing. However, the emphasis in this and other programs like it is on the exceptionally gifted and intelligent child with enrichment and accelerated mental development as the keynote. The average or below average child has little or no place in these projects. The Cleveland plan, in operation for many years in that Ohio city, has like aspects, but does provide a year-round remedial program. In North Carolina, the summer State-sponsored Governor's School in Raleigh is another program for gifted young people on the secondary school level. Begun some years back by Gov. Terry Sanford, it has achieved a great success.

Project Up-Lift, conducted by the HAR-YOU-ACT organization<sup>4</sup> in New York City's Harlem, is more an effort to keep children off the streets than to correct reading and other deficiencies. Emphasis and direct action on grades 1 through 4 is lacking in this and other programs, although there is remedial reading as a part of the total project.

Mr. Chairman, there are many details to be worked out. There is much that I, as a layman, might have overlooked or not evaluated. But we must make a start, and I offer Project Prevention as a possible starting point. One-half of our Nation is aged under 25 years. We must start now for them and for their children.

I look forward to your comments, and to discussing this with you in the near future.

Sincerely,

JOHN W. WYDLER,  
Member of Congress.

#### U.S. WORLD FOOD STUDY COMMISSION

(Mr. LANGEN (at the request of Mr. HALL) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday, October 14, the House Republican task force on agriculture recommended the establishment of a bipartisan U.S. World Food Study Commission to plan the future U.S. role in the approaching world food crisis.

This 18-member Commission would be made up of 8 Congressmen and 10 members to be appointed by the President—these 10 from the Agriculture and State Departments, universities, and other agricultural groups.

The Commission would study world food and agricultural needs, coordinate present U.S. agricultural and food assistance programs, and recommend ways in which U.S. agriculture could help meet both U.S. and world food needs in the future.

I am encouraged and deeply gratified with the widespread approval which this proposal is receiving both within and outside of Congress. While the measure is rapidly gaining support in the House, the numerous inquiries and comments about it which we continue to receive daily, indicate a growing public recognition of the need for a realistic and responsible approach toward meeting this world challenge.

Through the U.S. World Food Study and Coordinating Commission, one of the major problems of our time could be dealt with on a sound and rational basis,

<sup>4</sup> Frank L. Stanley, Jr., "Half-Way Progress Report of Project Up-Lift," August 1965, HAR-YOU-ACT.

while at the same time, U.S. agriculture might be afforded the opportunity of enjoying a new economic vitality.

Mr. Speaker, at this time, legislation to create this Commission has been introduced in the House by more than 60 Members, and is strongly endorsed by 16 others. The names of those 16 Members follow:

JOHN F. BALDWIN, JR.  
ALPHONZO BELL.  
DON H. CLAUSEN.  
DEL CLAWSON.  
THOMAS B. CURTIS.  
CHARLES S. GUBSER.  
CRAIG HOSMER.  
GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB.  
JAMES H. QUILLIN.  
ED REINECKE.  
HOWARD W. ROBISON.  
HERMAN SCHNEEBELI.  
H. ALLEN SMITH.  
CHARLES M. TEAGUE.  
JAMES B. UTT.  
J. ARTHUR YOUNGER.

#### ADEQUATE MEDICAL CARE FOR VIETNAM

(Mr. HALL was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, as a "doctor in the House" and member of the Armed Services Committee, after interviewing returnees from southeast Asia, having a son-in-law there, and learning during my last trip there—late 1962—and from individual physicians of the AID and/or Department of State USCOM plan for bilateral care of our special forces and the Vietnamese civilians; I called upon the Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Department of Defense—Health and Medical—and the three surgeons general of the uniformed military forces for an analysis of their bilateral effort to supply the South Vietnamese civilians and our own forces with adequate medical care. This has become most intriguing and of the greatest interest, in view of our rapid buildup "without mobilizing the Reserves, Guard units, or declaring any type of an emergency."

Much of the information is classified, but I can assure the Members of the Congress that adequate and bilateral effort is being made in the true tradition of keeping the most able-bodied men on the front line, and at the same time providing the best medical care for our sick and wounded, as well as battle casualties, in our effort to aid the South Vietnamese and their fight for freedom, concomitant with our Nation's tradition. My hat is off to the surgeons general, to the men and women of medicine and its ancillary branches, as well as to the Vietnamese themselves, who are doing the best possible job, in view of the number of casualties, the savagery of the guerrilla-type warfare and their diversity of training. I predict that soon, facilities, training, materiel, and personnel will complete the ideal job as we would have it at home, which is indeed the beacon light and acme of worldwide professional capability at this time.

help their child obtain greatest benefit from the program.

Financing the program would be on a Federal-to-State grant basis. A State would submit a plan to the U.S. Office of Education to implement Project Prevention in the existing school systems of the State. The funds could be made available under part 2 of the Wydler educational program establishing an educational assistance trust fund. A bill to establish such a fund was introduced by me on October 5. The bill would make a share of Federal revenues available to a State on a fixed formula. Part 1 of my comprehensive plan was for tuition tax credits to give those paying tuition a reduction in income taxes and was introduced last spring.

My plan for supplemental education is a sound, locally controlled education program. It is not a poverty program, although a good many of those affected would be from the poverty group.

A dropout is committing economic suicide. Operation Head Start has shown that preschool education can be useful. My program would carry this work on in regular education channels.

There are precedents for Project Prevention. In addition to operation Head Start, there are the North Carolina summer State-sponsored Governor's school for gifted children, the summer programs presently conducted at the Stewart School in Garden City, and Project Up-Lift in Harlem, sponsored by Harry ACT. Recently New York City announced a program devoting up to 40 percent of its time to reading correction.

I consulted with two prominent and experienced educators living in the Fourth Congressional District in formulating my proposal. They were Dr. John L. David, of 288 Peters Avenue, East Meadow, presently adjunct professor of education at Hofstra University and director of pupil personnel services for the South Huntington Schools; and Dr. Joseph P. Kulie, of 723 Park Lane South, Franklin Square, former chairman of the social studies department at Elmont Memorial High School, and currently the associate professor of history and education and coordinator of student teachers at the State University of New York at New Paltz.

I hope to organize a symposium on this program for supplemental education at one of our local universities to explore ways to make the program most effective and to make recommendations for Federal legislation. I will draft Project Prevention legislation with the aid of the House Education and Labor Committee for introduction in the next session of Congress.

I have fully explained this proposal in a letter to Congressman ALBERT H. QUIE, chairman of the House Republican education task force.

The text of the letter follows:

OCTOBER 18, 1965.

DEAR CHAIRMAN QUIE: The flow of constructive and sound educational proposals which have emanated from the unit you so

ably chair has been a source of immense personal gratification to me as a member of the Task Force on Education. The fabulous Fourth Congressional District of New York, which I have the honor to represent, is an area maintaining a deep and well-informed interest in all aspects of education. Because of this concerned interest, and because of my own involvement in the problems of modern education as both a parent and a legislator, I have greeted with great enthusiasm all of the reports of our task force.

I have also looked with expectation toward the administration for additional programs of improved educational techniques, and advancement of the start well-begun in Project Head Start. But even after continuous prodding by educators and legislators<sup>1</sup> and after a White House Conference on Education, no further steps have been announced as being under consideration. And there is a great need for such additional steps.

One of the most pressing problems in education today is that of the high school dropout. Knowledge of its existence is legion, but solutions of it are not nearly so commonly spoken of. The conventional strategy is to dissuade the potential dropout from the act in an 11th-hour plea which offers him job-training, a work-while-in-school plan, and other inducements to remain in school until graduation. But these measures do not even come close to eliminating the problem: even the dissuaded dropout is likely to raise a family in which the whole dropout cycle will repeat itself.

In a recent data survey of Maryland school dropouts, it was found that the fathers of 63 percent of the dropouts attended school for no more than 9 years, and that, of the mothers, 57 percent never went past the 9th grade either.<sup>2</sup> The dropout's problem is obviously not one of making a ruinous choice, but rather, of succumbing to forces which have troubled him for years. Forces such as antipathy toward school, fear of learning, dislike of academic disciplines. And these do not develop in the 1 or 2 years before the majority of dropouts leave school after grades 10 or 11.<sup>3</sup>

The key to this problem's solution lies not in action on the high school or junior high school levels, but rather in the elementary, or grammar school. By the time the dropout hears ballplayers, politicians, and educators urge him to stay in school, it's too late.

What is the dropout like? A composite portrait might run something like this: a quiet boy, about 16 or 17 years old, living with his parents. His parents live together. His father is likely as not an unskilled or semiskilled laborer, or a merchant, who never finished high school. He has no job outside of school, takes little or no part in athletics or extracurricular activities. He has average or below average mental ability, and his achievements in school are less than normal. He makes poor grades, usually flunking up to four subjects in the term prior to dropping out. He always moved ahead with his class; he was never "left back." He dislikes school, teachers, and doesn't feel comfortable in a classroom. He hates to read. He is afraid to speak in class. He panics during exams. Neither parent can help him, so he is alone. There are few books at home; his parents don't like to read either. He is afraid, and very much alone in his fear. His parents are against his dropping

<sup>1</sup> Report of the Republican Task Force on Education: The White House Conference on Education.

<sup>2</sup> Leonard M. Miller, "The Dropout: Schools Search for Clues to His Problems," School Life, May 1963.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

out, but it makes no difference to him at that point.<sup>4</sup>

So the dropout is alone, and fears learning, and hates to read. And he drops out, still alone, and very much afraid.

I believe, in agreement with many prominent educators, that this fear of learning is the basis for the dropout problem. I further concur in the opinion of many educators that a lack of reading ability is the cause of this fear of learning. Statistics bear this out: in that same Maryland study previously mentioned, 36 percent of all dropouts read on a third to sixth grade reading level, and 10 percent read on a level below the third grade.

All studies of this problem indicate that the most noticeable trait of the dropout is his hostility to and fear of learning. Reading is the key to learning. When the child cannot read with ease, he becomes annoyed, frustrated, and—finally—actively hostile to reading and learning. And then he drops out. This frustration builds from year to year from the time the child begins to learn to read in the first grade.<sup>5</sup>

Most educators in the field agree that if a child's reading disability is not identified and corrected by the fourth grade, there is a good chance that he or she will drop out of high school before grade 11.

In order to remedy this condition by at least making an attempt to break the vicious cycle of the dropout, I would urge the House Republican Task Force on Education to immediately begin considering the possibility of a summer remedial program for children in grades 1, 2, 3, and 4 to correct reading disability and to provide an enriched educational experience for children who, if otherwise left alone, would soon become very much alone and very much afraid.

I propose that this program be called Project Prevention, inasmuch as it will—hopefully—prevent a high incidence of dropouts.

This program would be of from six to eight weeks' duration during the summer months, being conducted by regular qualified elementary schoolteachers in the existing school structures across the Nation. It would be administered by individual school districts, under the supervision of the respective State departments of education. The Federal Government would provide the funds necessary for the project upon submission of a suitable plan of action to the U.S. Office of Education by State authorities. It would be an educational rather than a poverty program, although a good many of those it would help are in the low family income category.

Let it be clearly understood that under no circumstances would any of the provisions of the civil rights bills of 1957, 1960, and 1964 or the voting rights bill of 1965 be abrogated if the program functions properly. No segregated schools, or school districts under indictment by a Federal grand jury for a civil rights violation, would be eligible for funds.

The basic purpose of the program would be to correct reading and related deficiencies before the critical fifth year of schooling. This would be accomplished by a basic curriculum of remedial help in reading and speech. Special training programs must be

<sup>4</sup> Consultation with Dr. Joseph P. Kulie, former chairman of the social studies department at Elmont Memorial High School, Elmont, N.Y., at Mineola, N.Y., on August 19, 1965.

<sup>5</sup> Consultation with Dr. John L. David, director of Pupil Personnel Services for the South Huntington Schools, at Mineola, N.Y., on August 19, 1965.

October 19, 1965

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

26517

Mr. Speaker, the remarks by the Surgeon General of the U.S. Navy, Rear Adm. Robert B. Brown, on the occasion of the recommissioning of the U.S.S. *Repose* AH-16 in San Francisco, Calif., on October 16, sets forth beautifully the bilateral effort that is being made, to say nothing of recreating for all who would read the history of the *Repose* and hospital ships in general, to say nothing of close support of the seamen and our allies around the world. I think all will be interested:

REMARKS BY REAR ADM. ROBERT B. BROWN,  
MEDICAL CORPS, USN, SURGEON GENERAL  
AND CHIEF, BUREAU OF MEDICINE AND SUR-  
GERY AT COMMISSIONING OF U.S.S. "REPOSE"  
(AH-16), SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

It was with great personal as well as professional pride and gratification that I received Secretary Nitze's invitation to speak at the commissioning of the U.S.S. *Repose*. It has been my privilege to serve on three of our fine hospital ships—two in World War II, and one, this very one, in Korea. Mr. Nitze's invitation reached me in Hawaii as I was returning from a visit to our medical facilities in Vietnam and the western Pacific, more firmly convinced than ever of the great contributions a hospital ship will make to the medical support of our important military operations in southeast Asia.

The concept of a floating hospital is not a recent one; in fact, hospital ships can be traced back to 1741 when the English fleet invaded Cartagena. Commodore Preble gave the American Navy its first hospital ship during the war with Tripoli. When the fleet left Sicily in 1803, the U.S.S. *Intrepid* was left behind to serve as a hospital. The fleet returned 2 months later, and the *Intrepid* resumed her place as a ship of the line. True, this first hospital ship was created by designation rather than planning, but a hospital ship nonetheless.

Regulations for hospital ships were published in 1818, but it was not until the Civil War that these vessels again appeared with the fleet. Perhaps the most famous of this era is the *Red Rover*, captured from the Confederates and converted to a Navy hospital ship. Commodore Foote described her as "the most complete thing of the kind that ever floated \* \* \* the icebox holds over 300 tons. She has bathrooms, laundry, elevator for the sick from the lower to the upper deck, amputating room, nine different water closets, gauze blinds to the windows to keep the cinders and smoke from annoying the sick, two separate kitchens for sick and well, a regular corps of nurses, and two water closets for every deck."

There followed a succession of hospital ships, converted from liners, each an improvement over its predecessor. When the U.S.S. *Relief* joined the fleet in World War I, it was the first ship of our Navy which had been constructed at the outset for hospital purposes.

At the start of World War II, the Navy had two hospital ships in commission, the *Solace* and the *Relief*. The *Solace* was at Pearl Harbor when the Japanese made their infamous attack and she served most capably in caring for casualties. At the height of World War II the Navy manned a fleet of 18 hospital ships and included in these were the 6 of the *Haven* class, of which the *Repose* is one. These ships were designed and built from the hull up as 800-bed modern hospitals.

Three of these fine ships served during the Korean war, the *Repose*, the *Consolation*, and the *Haven*. Each was equipped with a helicopter landing platform, a recommendation of Vice Adm. Joel T. Boone, one of our most distinguished naval medical officers. Casualties could now be flown directly from the battlefield to a floating hospital facility where they received definitive medical and

surgical care, frequently only 20 to 30 minutes after they were wounded. Initial evacuation by helicopter, immediate and thorough professional care on the hospital ship, and further evacuation to shore-based hospitals by trained aeromedical teams, undoubtedly saved hundreds of American lives.

When the *Haven* was placed in the reserve fleet in 1957, to function as a dockside hospital at Long Beach, it marked the first time since the Civil War that the U.S. Navy lacked the capability of a complete and modern floating hospital, a medical facility that could be underway to an area of need within a few hours after the call for help went forth.

When the *Repose* sails for Vietnam she not only will be adding another illustrious chapter to her long career of humanitarian service, but her new "facelift" will provide American servicemen with the finest and most advanced medical treatment in history. Scores of men working around the clock at this shipyard have completely overhauled the gallant veteran of World War II and Korea. They have probed, painted, and polished her until she looks like new. And she is literally better than ever.

The *Repose* is provided with the most recent hospital equipment and supplies and with a superbly qualified staff. Her medical spaces are designed and located to afford centralized functions and to guarantee maximum patient-care benefits. She is truly a modern diagnostic and treatment facility. Her helicopter pad can receive the heavier craft now in use. If the weather precludes patient transportation by air, ambulatory patients can come aboard by way of one of four ladders and electrically driven hoists will bring litter patients aboard.

There are two crews aboard the *Repose*: the crew responsible for the operation and maintenance of the ship is commanded by Captain Maher and includes 16 officers and 200 enlisted personnel; the 750-bed hospital is commanded by Captain Engle, and is staffed by 24 physicians, 3 dentists, 7 Medical Service Corps officers, 2 chaplains, 29 nurses and 250 hospital corpsmen and dental technicians.

In addition to providing the basic facilities and capabilities of a large modern hospital, the *Repose* will carry several innovations to frontline diagnosis and treatment. For years the Navy has pioneered in the preservation of blood by freezing. As yet we have not used frozen blood in Vietnam but we will have the capability for storing and reconstituting frozen blood aboard this ship. I wish to emphasize that this is an additional means of meeting peak requirements; it is a supplement not a replacement for the effective whole blood program that has been and is the responsibility of the Army medical laboratory in Japan. Frozen blood can be stored for an indefinite period of time and reconstituted, ready for use, within a matter of minutes.

The *Repose* will carry a portable pump-oxygenator, an artificial heart, with the trained personnel to utilize it. The feasibility and importance of repairing damaged blood vessels in the arms and legs in forward medical facilities was definitely established during the Korean war. We believe it should now be determined whether a front-line capability to artificially support the circulation of the patient and do direct surgery on the heart (and the large vessels connected to it) is also important.

Aboard the *Repose* will be the most modern laboratory equipment. Included in the advanced diagnostic techniques available is the one which utilizes an antigen-antibody reaction and a fluorescent dye to rapidly identify the causative organisms of such diseases as tuberculosis and malaria.

Located beneath the helipad is a compression chamber. This chamber can be used for treatment of flying and diving casualties and also for providing oxygen under pressure

for the treatment of certain types of infection including tetanus and gas gangrene.

Finally, the *Repose* will afford an interesting opportunity for the staff to participate in the civic action program. When the workload permits, the doctors, nurses, and corpsmen will be able to go ashore, into the villages, to help and train the local people to solve their medical problems. When it can be done without interfering with our primary mission, care and treatment of the sick and injured members of the Armed Forces, we will make the *Repose* facilities available for training selected Vietnamese doctors and nurses. Civic action activities are winning for us many new and valuable friends; they also provide professionally rewarding outlets for our medical department personnel. Naval medical personnel are already participating in civic action programs with AID-USOM, at the station hospital in Saigon and with the Marines.

In closing, I express my appreciation to all of those who have so capably planned and accomplished the rebuilding of the *Repose*. My congratulations and best wishes go with the splendid crews that have been selected to operate this fine ship and to carry out the professional duties inherent in the mission of her hospital.

#### FEDERAL-STATE TAX SHARING

(Mr. ELLSWORTH (at the request of Mr. HALL) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, on October 14, I introduced a bill, H.R. 11600, to establish a system of Federal-State tax sharing. As I pointed out at that time, under the formula of this bill about \$2.5 billion would be returned annually to the States under present conditions and the amount would grow as the tax base grows. The State governments are given complete control over expenditure of this revenue. Under the bill's formula Kansas, for example, would receive about \$24.5 million which could be used for any project approved by the State.

I rise today to point out to my colleagues the part played in the introduction of this legislation by my own constituents. Last June, when most of those responding to my periodic poll favored the Federal Government sending a portion of its revenues to the States, I decided it was time for tax-sharing legislation to be drafted. This important bill is directly in line with the wishes of the people of the Third District. I am bringing this to the attention of the House of Representatives because I believe it to be evidence that there can be meaningful interchanges between Congressmen and constituents on vital legislative issues.

BICENTENNIAL OF ABIEL ABBOT, FOUNDER OF THE WORLD'S FIRST TAX-SUPPORTED, FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY IN PETERBOROUGH, N.H.

(Mr. CLEVELAND (at the request of Mr. HALL) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

October 19, 1965

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, on next Sunday, October 24, there will be ceremonies in Peterborough, N.H., to mark the 200th anniversary of the birth of the Reverend Abiel Abbot who, in 1833, led the founding of the first, tax-supported, free public library in the world. Up to that time, free public libraries were maintained by private charities and organizations such as churches, privately endowed universities, monasteries, corporations, and individual patrons.

Under the leadership of Abiel Abbot, however, a new era in library science and public policy was begun on April 9, 1833, when the town of Peterborough, at Mr. Abbot's urging, voted to establish a public library supported by public funds. This action placed the Peterborough Town Library in a unique class as the first library in the world not only to be patronized by all the people but also supported and managed by all of them.

Mr. Abbot was a truly remarkable man, filled with a sense of public service which he pursued indefatigably to the lasting benefits of his fellow man then and now.

Born in Wilton, N.H., December 14, 1795, he came to Peterborough in 1827 when he was 61 to become the minister of the Unitarian Church. He was a leader in many efforts to improve the community and the original library he founded was primarily for children.

He also created and made available to the townspeople a ministerial library and a Sunday school library. He was a member of the school committee and founded a county common school association and helped to establish a normal school. Mr. Abbot also worked with the Lyceum movement which was a sort of adult education program. He headed the Peterborough Tree Society, which planted many shade and fruit trees in the town. He conducted numerous experiments in agriculture and was a noted historian.

During the active years of his ministry—until 1839—and during his retirement years—until his death at 94 in 1859—he gave generously of his time and money to numerous worthy causes.

Sunday's ceremonies will be conducted under the auspices of the Peterborough Historical Society and the principal speaker is to be Mr. Samuel Abbot Smith, of Chelsea, Mass., a great-great-grandson of Abiel Abbot.

It is an honor and privilege to have this opportunity for paying tribute in the House of Representatives to the memory of so influential a man as the Reverend Abiel Abbot. That his work continues to flourish and grow, enriching the whole of our society is due in large measure to the leadership of Mrs. Charlotte Derby, president of the Peterborough Historical Society. She has done a magnificent job in organizing this tribute and bringing before the public knowledge of the life of Abiel Abbot and his pioneering work in Peterborough.

#### THE SECOND DUBLIN CONFERENCE—A DECLARATION FOR WORLD PEACE

(Mr. CLEVELAND (at the request of Mr. HALL) was granted permission to ex-

tend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, during the first week of October, when Pope Paul was in New York to issue his eloquent appeal for world peace and morality before the United Nations, another event of great significance to the cause of world peace occurred in Dublin, N.H.

This was the Second Dublin Conference held just 20 years after the First Dublin Conference once again under the leadership of the distinguished Mr. Grenville Clark. A very distinguished company of 54 men and women gathered under the general chairmanship of President Kingman Brewster, of Yale, for the purpose of reviewing the troubled state of the world after 20 years of seeking international order through the United Nations.

The reports of the work of the Second Dublin Conference were blanketed by the publicity given to the Pope. Therefore, I take this opportunity of inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent account of the conference which appeared in the Peterborough Transcript, an editorial from the Transcript, the text of the declaration of the conference as published in the Transcript, and a column by the distinguished commentator Max Freedman, which appeared in the Washington Sunday Star on October 10:

#### DUBLIN DECLARATION SEEKS END TO WAR—SUPPLEMENTS POPE'S MESSAGE—WORLD PEACE PLAN NEARLY UNANIMOUS

In the echoes of Pope Paul's thunderous world peace message the previous day, the Second Dublin Declaration was released Tuesday morning in the Alexander James studio, where the Dublin conference had been meeting since early Saturday.

Almost a supplement to the Pope's plea for peace to originate in the hearts of man, the statement etched the outlines of "an effective world organization to prevent war."

Of the 54 conferees, 52 announced that they would sign the declaration. "The other two may sign at any time, for all I know," said conference secretary Grenville Clark.

In 1945, 30 of 48 delegates signed the First Dublin Declaration.

Mr. Clark held out hope that the conference's conclusions would encourage more interest in the problem of reaching and maintaining peace.

Sunday the group sent a greeting to Pope Paul, emphasizing their common concern with world peace through universally applicable law.

The first declaration was presented to President Truman, congressmen, leaders of other nations and U.N. delegates. Before such distribution of the second declaration, however, Mr. Clark announced he would make soundings of the "efficacy of the document in other parts of the world," and if the response was favorable, a Third Dublin Conference might convene in 3 or 4 months.

Several conferees were critical of the declaration's approach, even while praising it.

W. H. Ferry, onetime Manchester and Concord newsman, now vice president of the Center for Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, Calif., told his colleagues that the document was hampered by a "made in America" imprint.

#### "HEARTS OF MEN"

He challenged whether the message would reach the "hearts and minds of men," an aspect also emphasized by clergymen at the conference.

Edgar A. Snow, author and expert on Communist China, who had flown in from Ge-

neva, attacked the document's special mention of Red China and was instrumental in having a reference to China toned down.

Although urging a strengthened U.N. charter to implement its recommendations (with another world body to replace the U.N. if it failed), the declaration pointed out six U.N. deficiencies.

Its first point is that nations having one-fourth the population of the world are not in the U.N., an obvious suggestion that China should have U.N. membership.

Mr. Snow punctured more than one myth in the 5-day peace discussion. Although most Americans don't believe there is a force in the world such as "American nationalism," or "imperialism," as Russia and China term U.S. military activities, many nations "shiver in an atmosphere of oppression and fear" of American interference in their affairs.

#### OUTSIDE TWO-THIRDS

World federalism is held in suspicion in the two-thirds of the world—China and the underdeveloped, nonwhite nations—which is on the "outside" of the rich North Atlantic community, Mr. Snow emphasized.

These nations have just gained their independence and they are not going to surrender their precious sovereignty to a world government, he said. The Chinese have just found their national unity for the first time in 300 years.

Mr. Snow said that war was not in China's interest, because the Chinese are at last solving their centuries-old problems, especially in agriculture.

What the "outside" two-thirds of the world wants and needs are (1) security for its various national sovereignties and protection from outside interference, (2) the means to catch up quickly with the advanced third of the world.

#### CALL FOR DEVELOPMENT

The declaration calls for a world development agency, which would answer the second need, although the call is not so strongly stressed as some conferees wished.

The Dublin statement also calls for the freedom for nations to have their own revolutions, unless their internal conflicts threaten world peace.

Mr. Snow pointed out that the present tendency to charge into a country and prevent overthrow of an established government by a militant minority would have prevented the American, French, and Russian revolutions from occurring.

The peace document was produced by a conference drafting committee, which went into the early morning hours on two occasions to polish up the controversial and highly important language involved.

#### THE DRAFTERS

Stanley A. Weigel, judge of the U.S. district court in San Francisco, was chairman of the drafting group, the members of which were A. J. G. Priest, professor of law, University of Virginia Law School; Abraham Wilson, lawyer and counsel for United World Federalists, New York; George C. Holt, columnist and executive director, New England branch, United World Federalists; Robert H. Reno, Concord lawyer; Charles Bolte, executive vice president, Viking Press, New York, and Louis B. Sohn, Bemis professor of international law, Harvard University Law School.

Consultants included Norman Cousins, Saturday Review editor; John K. Jessup, Life magazine chief editorial writer; James P. Warburg, author, Greenwich, Conn., and Gerard Piel, publisher, Scientific American.

In ex officio roles were Mr. Clark, Mr. Brewster, and Thomas H. Mahony, Boston lawyer.

#### HIGHLY PRAISED

The first draft was highly praised by a number of conferees including Mr. Clark, who termed it "a superb document," presenting "a superbly balanced consensus of views."

October 19, 1965

of communication;<sup>24</sup> and this problem was periodically reexamined during the years which followed.<sup>25</sup>

In New York City (as in other cities)<sup>26</sup> the board of education turned its attention to the Puerto Rican child because communication had to be established, and (in this context) the most ambitious study of the educational problems presented by the Puerto Rican migration became (for New York City) "a 4-year inquiry into the education and adjustment of Puerto Rican pupils in the public schools of New York City" \* \* \* a major effort \* \* \* to establish on a sound basis a citywide program for the continuing improvement of the educational opportunities of all non-English speaking pupils in the public schools."<sup>27</sup>

If the major emphasis of "The Puerto Rican Study" was to have been the basic problem of language (English), its objectives were soon extended to include the equally important areas of community orientation and acculturation. The study's objectives were summed-up in three main problems:

1. What are the more effective ways (methods) and materials for teaching English as a second language to newly arrived Puerto Rican pupils?

2. What are the most effective techniques with which the schools can promote a more rapid and more effective adjustment of Puerto Rican parents and children to the community and the community to them?

3. Who are the Puerto Rican pupils in the New York City public schools?<sup>28</sup>

For each of these problems, "The Puerto Rican Study" made detailed recommendations (problem III, largely an ethnic survey, resulted in a profile of characteristics of pupils of Puerto Rican background and fused into problems I and II).<sup>29</sup>

**PROBLEM I: HOW EFFECTIVELY TO TEACH ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE**

"The Puerto Rican Study," concluded that an integrated method (vocabulary method; structured or language patterns method; and the functional situations or experiential method) was to be employed, and it developed two series of related curriculum bulletins, keyed to the prescribed New York City course of study.<sup>30</sup> But in the course of its

<sup>24</sup> "Puerto Rican Pupils in the New York City Schools, 1951." The Mayor's Advisory Committee on Puerto Rican Affairs, Subcommittee on Education, Recreation and Parks. This was a survey of 75 elementary and junior high schools as well as a report on day classes for adults, evening schools, community centers and vacation playgrounds. The report was directed by Dr. Leonard Covello, principal of Benjamin Franklin High School in East Harlem. See in this connection, Covello's "The Heart Is The Teacher," N.Y., McGraw Hill, 1958, *passim*.

<sup>25</sup> See Martin B. Dworkis, ed., "The Impact of Puerto Rican Migration on Governmental Services in New York City," N.Y., New York University Press, 1957.

<sup>26</sup> Particularly, Philadelphia, Chicago, Newark, and Camden, N.J.

<sup>27</sup> J. Cayce Morrison, director, "The Puerto Rican Study (1953-57): A Report on the Education and Adjustment of Puerto Rican Pupils in the Public Schools of the City of New York," New York: Board of Education (1958), p. 1.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* See "Summary of Recommendations Made by the Puerto Rican Study for the Program in the New York City Schools," (New York, Board of Education). Dec. 8, 1958.

<sup>29</sup> The profile was separately published in 1956, and reprinted in the final report (1958).

<sup>30</sup> A series of nine resource units and four language guides. Each resource unit bulletin contains three or more resource units. See "Puerto Rican Study" (Publications of the Puerto Rican Study) for list.

considerations, it dealt with the ancillary (and vital) need "to formulate a uniform policy for the reception, screening, placement and periodic assessment of non-English speaking pupils."<sup>31</sup> It recommended (until such time as the Bureau of Educational Research may find or develop better tests or tests of equal value) the use of the USE test—ability to understand spoken English; the Gates reading test—primary and advanced; and the Lorge-Thorndike nonverbal test. It proposed, too, three broad categories of class organization; considered the need of adequate staffing (substitute auxiliary teachers [SAT]; Puerto Rican coordinators; school-community coordinators and other teaching positions [OTP]; and guidance counselors, particularly in the senior high schools), and found essential the "coordinating [of] efforts of colleges and universities \* \* \* to achieve greater unity of purpose and effort in developing both undergraduate and graduate programs for teachers who will work with non-English speaking pupils."<sup>32</sup>

**PROBLEM II: HOW TO PROMOTE A MORE RAPID AND MORE EFFECTIVE ADJUSTMENT OF PUERTO RICAN PARENTS AND CHILDREN TO THE COMMUNITY AND THE COMMUNITY TO THEM.**

In its recognition of this problem, "The Puerto Rican Study" struggled with providing answers to the basic anxieties and pre-occupations of a group of people beset with problems of housing, adequate employment, health, and "assimilation." That the study found difficulty in providing answers is perhaps explained in its inability to relate the answers it found most effective to the mandate of the school. If it was possible to revise curriculums and discern the problems implicit in the learning experience of the Puerto Rican child, it remained an altogether different matter to attempt the solution of broad socioeconomic problems, or to attempt the amelioration of community ills. In essence, the following statement suggests how far the schools have retreated from the community: "On the relation of Puerto Rican parents to schools, 'The Puerto Rican Study' holds that because Puerto Rican parents are preoccupied with problems of learning English, finding apartments, finding employment, and with problems of providing their families with food, clothing, and proper health protection, they are not ready to set a high priority on their children's school problems. The schools can't wait until they are ready."<sup>33</sup>

If "The Puerto Rican Study" is not thought of as a finished guide to the solution of the problem it investigates but rather as a beginning, it must be characterized as the best assessment of the educational challenges which the Spanish-speaking child poses to the American school. In this sense, it is both a guide and a blueprint for effective reform.

**IV. A POSTSCRIPT**

Basically, the Puerto Rican child is not a newcomer to the American school. In many ways he presents himself to a school and a society whose very nature is heterogeneous and variegated and to which the non-English-speaking child is no stranger. In this sense, the acquisition of English for the Puerto Rican child (if necessary and inevitable) is not a great problem; certainly, it is a soluble problem to which the American school brings a rich and successful experience and "The Puerto Rican Study" affirms how successful and resourceful American schools can and have been. What is more important to the Puerto Rican child (and to American society) is the process of acculturation. How does the Puerto Rican child retain his identity? his language? his culture? In substance this remains the crucial problem, and

<sup>31</sup> See summary, *supra*, p. 3.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

in this crucial context, the role of the school in American society needs to be carefully assessed. If the Puerto Rican child is sinned against today, the tragedy lies in the continued assault against his identity, his language, and his cultural wellsprings. In this sense, his experience is not fundamentally different from that of millions of other children to whom the American school was a mixed blessing. This is in no way a depreciation of the egalitarianism of the American "common school," but rather a reaffirmation of the loss of the great opportunity that a free society afforded its schools to nurture and treasure the rich and varied traditions of its charges. The "melting pot" theory is at best an illusion measured against the realities of American society, and a true discernment of its strengths.<sup>34</sup>

In another light, the Puerto Rican child is the creature of his social context: its opportunities or lack of opportunities. If his needs are to be met, they can only be effectively met insofar as the needs of this context are met. A school which is not community-oriented is a poor school. If this is so for the middle-class suburban school, it is even more so for the urban school which is the heir of the myriad complexities of a rapidly deteriorating central city. More important than the Puerto Rican child's lack of English, is the lack of that economic security and well-being that relates him to a viable family structure. If the Puerto Rican child's major disenchantment does not result from the segregated schools into which his poverty has placed him,<sup>35</sup> still one would have to deplore the school's inability to cope with the alienation that segregation spawns, and the bitter destitution that poverty brings to its children. Perhaps, the Great Society really emerged from a strengthening of the school by its joining hands with all the creative agencies of the community.

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**PROGRESS IN VIETNAM**

**Mr. CANNON.** Mr. President, recently, I had the rare opportunity to visit extensively in southeast Asia on behalf of the Armed Services Committee and the Preparedness Subcommittee of which I am a member.

Yesterday, I made preliminary comments on some aspects of the trip which impressed me, and I am preparing a more detailed written report. However, I do feel I can assure the Members of this body that the tremendous cost of the Vietnam war in both manpower and money is not being expended vainly and without results.

My overall impression is that we are making progress there and I have the feeling of cautious optimism about achieving our objective in Vietnam which is to use our military might to reach a peaceful, negotiated settlement at the conference table.

I traveled extensively in many areas where combat operations were involved on land, sea, and air, and I came away in unhesitating admiration of the quality of our fighting men and of their ability to satisfactorily perform their mis-

<sup>34</sup> See Milton M. Gordon, "Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins," New York, Oxford University Press, 1964; and review, F. Corrasco, *Journal of Human Relations*, vol. 13 (winter 1963) pp. 142-143.

<sup>35</sup> See Joseph Monserrat, "School Integration: A Puerto Rican View," conference on integration in New York City public schools, Teachers College, Columbia University, May 1, 1963.

October 19, 1965

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

26425

from the island amounted to nearly 390,000. The census of 1950 began the recording of second generation Puerto Ricans (those born on the continent to island-born parents) and counted 76,000; in 1960, the figure stood at 272,000, so that by 1960 3 out of every 10 Puerto Rican residents in the United States were born in the States.

Although, there has been a dispersal of the migration outside Greater New York City, the overwhelming number of Puerto Ricans are New Yorkers; the 1960 census showed 612,574 living in New York City (68.6 percent of the U.S. total). New York City's proportion had dropped from 88 percent in 1940 to 83 percent in 1950 and to 69 percent in 1960.<sup>1</sup> If there is no serious setback in the American economy the dispersion will undoubtedly continue.<sup>2</sup>

The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico neither encourages nor discourages migration. As an American citizen, the Puerto Rican moves between the island and the mainland with complete freedom. If his movement is vulnerable to anything, it fluctuates only with reference to the economy on the mainland. Any economic recession or contraction graphically shows in the migration statistics.<sup>3</sup> It is at best invidious to suggest that "the Puerto Rican migration to Nueva York, unchecked by immigrant quotas, is a major source of the island's prosperity," but there is truth in the appended observation that the migration " \* \* \* upgraded the migrants, converted them from rural to urban people, relieved the island of some of its labor surplus, and sent lots of cash back home."<sup>4</sup>

For the American schools, the Puerto Rican migration presented a distinct and yet in many ways a recurrent phenomenon. With the imposition of immigration quotas in the early twenties, the non-English-speaking student had gradually disappeared. The great European migration and the manifold educational problems to which the American schools had addressed themselves had in a manner been resolved; with the increasing Puerto Rican migration and the recurrent pattern of the ghettoization of the new arrivals, the migrant child, non-English-speaking and nurtured by a different culture, presented the American schools with a new yet very old challenge.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, "Subject Reports: Puerto Ricans in the United States," Final report, PC (2)-1 D, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1963.

<sup>2</sup> The 1960 census reported Puerto Rican-born persons living in all but 1 (Duluth-Superior) of the 101 standard metropolitan statistical areas of over 250,000 population. Particular concentrations were reported (1960) as Chicago, 35,361; Paterson-Clifton-Passaic, N.J., 6,641; Los Angeles-Long Beach, 7,214; San Francisco-Oakland, 4,068. For an illuminating study of Puerto Rican dispersal in New Jersey, see Max Wolff, "Patterns of Change in the Cities of New Jersey: Minorities—Negroes and Puerto Ricans Affected by and Affecting These Changes," N.Y., mimeographed, 1962.

<sup>3</sup> See in this connection migration figures for 1953-54. The best source on Puerto Rican migration is the Migration Division of the Department of Labor, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, which maintains a central mainland office in New York City and offices in other U.S. cities. It also maintains an office in Puerto Rico to carry out a program of orientation for persons who intend to migrate to the States.

<sup>4</sup> Patricia Sexton, "Spanish Harlem: Anatomy of Poverty," N.Y., Harper & Row, 1965, p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Although one of the greatest achievements of the American common school has been the acculturation and assimilation of the children of non-English speaking immi-

## II. PUERTO RICANS AND MAINLAND SCHOOLS

The Puerto Rican journey to the mainland has been (and continues to be) the subject of a vast literature.<sup>6</sup> For the most part, the Puerto Rican child reflects a context of bitter deprivation, poor housing, high unemployment, and a record of disappointing educational achievement. It is the poverty context to which the Puerto Rican community has been relegated in our cities that explains its problems and graphically underscores its poor achievement in the schools. Not only is the Puerto Rican child asked to adapt to a cultural ambience which is strange and new, he remains further burdened by all the negative pressures of a ghetto milieu which educators have discerned as inimical to even the most rudimentary educational accomplishment.<sup>7</sup>

How the Puerto Rican child has fared in the mainland schools is best illustrated in the experience in New York City, where Puerto Ricans have the lowest level of formal education of any identifiable ethnic or color group. Only 13 percent of Puerto Rican men and women 25 years of age and older in 1960 had completed either high school or more advanced education. Among New York's nonwhite (predominately Negro) population, 31.2 percent had completed high school; and the other white population (excluding Puerto Ricans) did even better. Over 40 percent had at least completed high school.<sup>8</sup>

In 1960, more than half—52.9 percent—of Puerto Ricans in New York City 25 years of age and older had less than an eighth grade education. In contrast, 29.5 percent of the nonwhite population had not finished the eighth grade, and only 19.3 percent of the other whites had so low an academic preparation.<sup>9</sup>

If the schools in New York City were to correct all of this (the numbers in the second generation who have reached adult years is still small, only 6.4 percent of persons 20 years of age and older in 1960), there is still evidence that Puerto Rican youth, more than any other group, is severely handicapped

grants (largely European), it has received little study. See F. Cordasco and L. Covello, "Educational Sociology: A Subject Index of Doctoral Dissertations Completed at American Universities, 1941-63," N.Y., Scarecrow Press, 1966. Of over 2,000 dissertations listed, only a few clearly concern themselves with the non-English immigrant child, or generally with the educational problems of the children of immigrants.

<sup>6</sup> One of the best accounts is Clarence Senior, "The Puerto Ricans," Chicago, Quadrangle Books, 1965, which includes an extensive bibliography. See also Christopher Rand, "The Puerto Ricans," N.Y., Oxford, 1958; Don Wakefield, "Island in the City," Boston, Houghton-Mifflin, 1959; Elena Padilla, "Up From Puerto Rico," N.Y., Columbia University Press, 1958; Jesus Colon, "A Puerto Rican in New York and Other Sketches," N.Y., Mainstream Publications, 1961; an older but invaluable documented study of Puerto Ricans in New York City is that of C. Wright Mills, Clarence Senior, and Rose Kohn Goldsen, "The Puerto Rican Journey," N.Y., Harper, 1950.

<sup>7</sup> For a graphic commentary on the debilitating environmental pressures and the "ghetto milieu" see David Barry, "Our Christian Mission Among Spanish-Americans," mimeographed, Princeton University consultation, Feb. 21-23, 1965. The statistical indexes of Puerto Rican poverty (and the related needs) are best assembled in "The Puerto Rican Community Development Project," N.Y., the Puerto Rican Forum, 1964, pp. 26-75.

<sup>8</sup> See "The Puerto Rican Community Development Project," p. 34.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., pp. 34-35.

in achieving an education in the New York City public schools. A 1961 study of a Manhattan neighborhood showed that fewer than 10 percent of Puerto Ricans in the 3d grade were reading at their grade level or above. The degree of retardation was extreme. Three in ten were retarded 1½ years or more and were, in the middle of their third school year, therefore, reading at a level only appropriate for entry into the second grade. By the eighth grade the degree of retardation was even more severe with almost two-thirds of the Puerto Rican youngsters retarded more than 3 years.<sup>10</sup>

Of the nearly 21,000 academic diplomas granted in 1963, only 831 went to Puerto Ricans and 762 to Negroes, representing only 1.6 percent and 3.7 percent, respectively, of the total academic diplomas. In contrast, Puerto Ricans received 7.4 percent of the vocational school diplomas, and Negroes, 15.2 percent. For the Puerto Rican community, these figures have critical significance since Puerto Rican children constituted in 1963 about 20 percent of the public elementary school register; 18 percent of the junior high school register; and in keeping with long discerned trends, Puerto Rican youngsters made up 23 percent of the student body in vocational schools and 29 percent of that in special (difficult) schools.<sup>11</sup>

Clearly, the critical issue for the Puerto Rican community is the education of its children, for the experience in New York City is a macrososm which illustrates all the facets of the mainland experience.<sup>12</sup>

## III. EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS TO MEET THE NEEDS OF PUERTO RICAN CHILDREN

In the last decade a wide range of articles have reported special educational programs to meet the needs of Puerto Rican children;<sup>13</sup> although many of these have been of value, the more ambitious theoretic constructs have largely come from the school boards and staffs which have had to deal with the basic problem of communication in classes where a growing (and at times preponderant) number of Spanish-speaking children were found. As early as 1951 in New York City, a mayor's Advisory Committee on Puerto Rican Affairs turned its attention to this major problem

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 39. The study was undertaken by the Research Center, Columbia University School of Social Work.

<sup>11</sup> "Puerto Rican Community Development Project," p. 41, and tables, pp. 43-44.

<sup>12</sup> The situation would not be significantly different in other cities where the Puerto Rican community is encapsulated in poverty, e.g., Camden, N.J., Philadelphia, Chicago. A different dimension would be added in the educational problems presented in those areas where Puerto Rican migrant workers, contracted for agricultural labor, live for varying periods of time. The best source of information on the Puerto Rican agricultural migrant worker is the Migration Division, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. See footnote No. 3, supra. The New Jersey Office of Economic Opportunity completed a study of the needs of migrant workers in that State in terms of its projected programs. The report ("Herdman Report") has not yet (October 1965) been released.

<sup>13</sup> Typical is Jack Cohn, "Integration of Spanish Speaking Newcomers in a 'Fringe Area' School," National Elementary Principal (May 1960), pp. 29-33. See also F. Cordasco, "Helping the Language Barrier Student," the Instructor, vol. 72 (May 1963), p. 20; S. L. Elam, "Acculturation and Learning Problems of Puerto Rican Children," Teachers College Record, vol. 61 (1960) pp. 258-264; James Olsen, "Children of the Ghetto," High Points, vol. 46 (1964), pp. 25-33; John A. Burma, "Spanish Speaking Children," in Eli Ginzberg, The Nation's Children, vol. 8 (1960), pp. 78-102.

October 19, 1965

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

26427

sion. I do not believe, from what I saw, that freedom can be bought cheaply in that troubled part of the world, but I believe we are inspiring confidence among our SEATO allies and that our enemies and our friends know that we mean what we say and that we are not afraid to fight to keep our commitments.

The distinguished Senators from Ohio and Maryland, Senator YOUNG, and Senator BREWSTER, with whom I was associated, looked long and hard into reports of shortages of ammunition, boots, and other equipment, and were unable to substantiate any claims of deficiency. On the contrary, it seemed to me that our boys were being supplied with the finest materiel available and the equipment was suitable for accomplishment of their mission.

I found morale extremely high but one question continued to arise wherever we were able to visiting the fighting men. It was one of concern, disappointment, disillusionment, and sometimes anger over the student demonstrations and the mockery of draft cards which has been so much in the news of late. I could not help but wonder what our enemies must think, let alone what our friends wonder when they learn of these outrageous misuses of the privileges of citizenship.

Of course, I attempted to explain that these vulgar and sickeningly unpatriotic gestures were the rare exceptions and not the rule among our youth and on our campuses. I still believe that, but I do not think we can minimize the damage and misunderstandings that these wanton acts provoke.

The magnitude of our effort in helping the South Vietnamese achieve both military and political stability is truly impressive. American ingenuity is being demonstrated every day in the construction of airfields, ports, communications networks, and the coordination of all these factors in a manner which will inspire confidence and create the necessary morale to sustain the people of that troubled country. It is true that the performance of our allies in this fight has so far been disappointing, but I hope that in due time they will be inspired, as were all of us on this visit, with the example of the South Korean nation, which sent a division, including marines, to South Vietnam, and plans to step up its fighting personnel there to 20,000 men.

It seems to me, Mr. President, that each day brings additional strength to our resolve to strive toward an honorable peace without weakening our determination to discourage aggression. As a result of this trip, I am convinced more than ever before that our active presence in southeast Asia is the only acceptable course, and the correct one for this Nation.

## MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed, without amendment, the following bills of the Senate:

S. 337. An act for the relief of F. F. Hintze; S. 343. An act for the relief of Paride Marchesan; S. 374. An act for the relief of Dr. Guillermo Castrillo (Fernandez); S. 711. An act for the relief of Mrs. Hertha L. Wohlmuth; and S. 2039. An act for the relief of Ken Allen Keene (Yasuo Tsukikawa).

The message also announced that the House concurred in the amendments of the Senate numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, and 13 to the bill (H.R. 168) to amend title 38 of the United States Code to provide increases in the rates of disability compensation, and for other purposes; that the House disagreed to the amendments of the Senate numbered 6 and 11 to the bill, and that the House concurred in the amendments of the Senate numbered 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 12 to the bill, severally with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message further announced that the House concurred in the amendment of the Senate numbered 1 to the bill (H.R. 227) to amend title 38 of the United States Code to entitle the children of certain veterans who served in the Armed Forces prior to September 16, 1940, to benefit under the war orphans educational assistance program, and that the House disagreed to the amendment of the Senate numbered 2 to the bill.

The message also announced that the House had passed the following bills, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 5493. An act to provide that the flag of the United States of America may be flown for 24 hours of each day in Lexington, Mass.; and

H.R. 6568. An act to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 to make permanent the existing temporary suspension of duty on copra, palm nuts, and palm-nut kernels, and the oils crushed therefrom, and for other purposes.

## HOUSE BILLS REFERRED

The following bills were each read twice by their titles and referred, as indicated:

H.R. 5493. An act to provide that the flag of the United States of America may be flown for 24 hours of each day in Lexington, Mass.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6568. An act to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 to make permanent the existing temporary suspension of duty on copra, palm nuts, and palm-nut kernels, and the oils crushed therefrom, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

## SUGAR ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1965

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 11135) to amend and extend the provisions of the Sugar Act of 1948, as amended.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Madam President, I have technical amendments at the desk. I have cleared them with Senators on both sides of the aisle. I do not think there is any objection to them.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendments offered by the Senator from Louisiana will be stated.

The legislative clerk read the amendments, as follows:

Page 32, line 4, after "from" insert a comma.

Page 34, line 12, strike out "(2)" and insert "(3)".

Page 37, line 1, strike out "subsection (d) (1) (B)" and insert "paragraph (1) (B) of this subsection".

Page 37, line 14, strike out "(2)".

Page 39, line 15, strike out "subsections (c) (3) and (d) (1) of this section" and insert "subsection (c) (3) and paragraph (1) of this subsection".

On page 46, line 22, after "are amended" insert "to read".

On page 49, line 20, strike out "(3)".

On page 55, line 4, after the period insert the following: "The amendments made by section 9 of this Act shall become effective on the date of the enactment of this Act."

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Madam President, may I ask the Senator from Louisiana if I am correct in my understanding that these are technical amendments only?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. They are purely technical. They correct language that should be corrected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendments of the Senator from Louisiana en bloc.

The amendments were agreed to en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment.

## AMENDMENT NO. 474

Mr. DOUGLAS. Madam President, I ask the clerk to state an amendment which I have at the desk, but before the clerk reads the amendment, let me say that substitute numbers should be inserted at the appropriate places, because the original pagination followed the original bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment offered by the Senator from Illinois will be stated.

The legislative clerk proceeded to read the amendment.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Madam President, I ask for the yeas and nays on passage of the bill.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Madam President, first, the yeas and nays on the amendment should be ordered.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. The Senator has not offered it yet. I would like to ask for the yeas and nays on the passage of the bill first.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois requested that his amendment be read. The clerk had not completed the reading of the amendment.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be suspended while the yeas and nays are asked for, and then that the amendment be read in full.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Madam President, I ask for the yeas and nays on passage of the bill.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Madam President, I now ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS].

October 19, 1965

Mr. MANSFIELD. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the yeas and nays may be ordered even though the amendment has not been read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will continue reading the amendment.

The legislative clerk resumed and concluded the reading of the amendment offered by Mr. DOUGLAS, which is as follows:

On page 48, strike out lines 12 and 13, and insert the following:

"Sec. 10. Section 213 of the Sugar Act of 1943, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"'IMPORT FEES

"Sec. 213. (a) Except as hereinafter provided, as a condition for importing sugar into the United States under this Act from any foreign country, an import fee, computed as provided in subsection (b), shall be paid to the United States by the person applying to the Secretary for entry and release of such sugar. Payment of such fee shall be made in accordance with regulations promulgated by the Secretary. This subsection shall not apply to sugar imported from the Republic of the Philippines or from any country in the Western Hemisphere (other than any possession, protectorate, or dependency of France or the United Kingdom).

"(b) The import fee under subsection (a) with respect to any sugar imported into the United States under this Act shall be an amount (computed on a per pound, raw value basis) equal to the amount by which the domestic price for raw sugar on the date of importation exceeds the higher of—

"(1) the world market price for raw sugar on the date of importation (determined by the Secretary and adjusted for freight to New York, insurance, and customs duties imposed by the United States), or

"(2) the average world market price for raw sugar during the 15-year period preceding the year of importation (determined by the Secretary and adjusted for freight to New York, insurance, and customs duties and import taxes imposed by the United States).

"(c) The import fees received by the Secretary under subsection (a) shall be covered into the Treasury into a special fund to be known as the Alliance for Progress Fund. There are authorized to be appropriated from such Fund, solely for the purposes of the Alliance for Progress, such amounts as may from time to time be provided by appropriation Acts."

ANALYSIS OF AMENDMENT

Mr. DOUGLAS. Madam President, the amendment which I have suggested would not affect the domestic beet and cane sugar programs, nor would it affect the allocation and payment on sugar with respect to the Philippines, which is regulated by treaty.

The amendment would not impose an import fee on any sugar coming from the Western Hemisphere with the exception of the French colonial possessions and the British colonial possessions; but it would impose an import fee on sugar coming from countries outside the Western Hemisphere and on what comes from the British West Indies and the French West Indies.

In all, the amendment would impose import fees on 471,985 tons allocated to countries outside the Western Hemis-

sphere and on the 126,017 tons allocated to the British West Indies, and British Honduras.

The French West Indies are included in the tabulation under "French" and outside the Western Hemisphere, which is a printer's error. It would, therefore, apply to approximately 598,000 tons out of the total.

The amendment would levy this import fee on the difference between a 15-year moving average of the world price, which would be 4.22 cents, plus the shipping cost and insurance cost of about half a cent a pound, plus the tariff of five-eighths of a cent, or a total of approximately 5.3 cents a pound.

The present price is \$6.85, so there would be a return of approximately one-half cent a pound or \$30 a ton, or on just short of 600,000 tons, about \$18 million, if my arithmetic is correct.

That money, of course, would not be appropriated automatically. We have no authority to appropriate it now, but it would go into a fund, and we would authorize appropriations from that fund for the Alliance for Progress.

LATIN AMERICA BETTER OFF UNDER AMENDMENT

I point out that Latin America would come out much better under the plan which I am suggesting than under the plan proposed by the Committee on Finance, for Latin America would receive everything which it would otherwise get. The independent countries of Latin America would be receiving everything they would be getting under the administration bill, the Senate bill, or the House bill. In addition, they would be getting the import fees collected from sugar imported from outside the hemisphere. This money would go to the common people of Latin America instead of to the rich landlords, as is contemplated in the bill proposed by the Committee on Finance.

First, I wish to take up the question as to what economic responsibility, if any, in the form of sugar subsidies we have to countries outside the Western Hemisphere. I know of none. We assume no automatic military or economic protection over them.

Australia is an independent country, and an extremely prosperous country. They do not need aid. They would not ask for aid. They would be offended if aid were suggested.

Formosa is a republic, to which we no longer give economic aid.

South Africa is a country to which we owe no obligation. As the great gold-producing area of the world it needs no artificial stimulants. I believe it produces at least two-thirds of the gold supply of the world. It has enough purchasing power to buy materials from the rest of the world.

With respect to India, I have always supported aid to India. I believe that I was the first Senator to come to the support of Senator HUMPHREY over a decade ago when he began his campaign first, to give wheat to India, and then, when he was prevented from doing that, to sell wheat to India in soft currency terms. That is putting food in the mouths of Indians.

But this proposal would take nutri-

ment away from the mouths of Indian children. It calls on India to export sugar and deprives its own people of sugar. It may be too much sugar.

This is supposed to be one cause for American obesity. But the Indians are not troubled, or very few of them are troubled, with obesity. They have trouble with malnutrition and they need all the calories they can get from the sugar which we would take away from them.

We would be taking away nourishment of sugar from the mouths of Indian children in order to put money in the pockets of Indian landlords.

As to the Fiji Islands, which are allotted 35,489 tons, I believe Senator FULBRIGHT is quite correct when he says that all the sugar in the Fiji Islands is owned by one big Australian company.

There are the Mauritius with about 15,000 tons. I am told we have a tracking station there. We can buy sugar from them but buy it at the 15-year-average world price.

WHY HELP SOUTHERN RHODESIA?

Then, there is Southern Rhodesia, which is down for 6,000 tons. Earlier today I mentioned the fact, which is known to all, that Southern Rhodesia is in a critical period in which the white supremacy government representing some 250,000 white settlers in Rhodesia is threatening to secede from the British Empire. The British Government is carrying out the policy previously announced by the Tory government, namely, that they will resist with all methods short of physical force the declaration of independence and in effect will apply economic sanctions to Rhodesia if they carry through this program.

In the United Nations a few days ago, Ambassador Goldberg proposed that we should condemn Rhodesia if it attempted to secede from the British Empire. Mr. Goldberg clearly foresaw the possible inflammatory effects of such a secession, the aim of which would be to impose the white rule of 250,000 white people upon 4 million blacks, for an indefinite future, which might touch off a racial struggle through all of Africa, including South Africa and the new black republics of Central Africa.

I believe Ambassador Goldberg's position is correct. I am very glad that the United Nations, by a vote of 107 to 2, approved the resolution. I was cheered also by the fact that press dispatches from London indicated that the U.S. Government was alining itself with the British Government in its opposition to Rhodesian secession. There is the possibility that, faced with British opposition, faced with the United Nations opposition, and faced with the American opposition, Mr. Smith will have second thoughts and that his white supremacy party will not force secession.

They are going through a period of agonizing reappraisal, so to speak, in Salisbury, Rhodesia, and in other sections of that country.

We say to them: "Enter into the charmed circle. We will give you 6,000 tons of sugar with a subsidy, at the present time, of \$72 a ton, and, on present figures, of \$430,000."

produce, even though we do not produce an acre of that product in Louisiana, because I believe that every farmer is entitled to a decent living.

Mr. BASS. I agree wholeheartedly with the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I have supported and will continue to support measures which will help every farmer in every part of this country, whether the crop he produces is a great amount or very small compared to those grown in Louisiana. Fortunately, under the Sugar Act, and the amendments to it, we have kept sugar under such complete control—

Mr. BASS. It is a monopoly.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. It has been under control. There are a great number of companies which produce sugar but they are completely controlled. We not only control the acres the farmer can plant, but we also control the amount of sugar he can produce. So that there is control on both ends. In other commodities, the farmer can plow on more fertilizer using less acreage, and produce more wheat, or corn—

Mr. BASS. Or tobacco.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Or cotton; and he can sell it. But in sugarbeet and sugarcane areas, no matter how much the farmer fertilizes or increases his produce, if he produces more he is stuck with it.

Mr. BASS. He can feed it to the cattle, which cannot be done with a commodity such as tobacco.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Yes, he can feed it to the cattle, but it is expensive to feed it to cattle. They cannot eat sugarcane. It must be squeezed out and, by the time it has been processed, it becomes a most expensive feed.

Mr. BASS. Let me capsule what I wish to say, because I wish to impress upon the Senator from Louisiana—who is one of the leaders not only in the Senate but also in handling sugar legislation—that we in Tennessee would like to have a sugar quota, and I hope that the Senator will use his influence with the powers that be who distribute quotas to try to see if he cannot get one for Tennessee. We would like to produce sugar down there.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I shall be glad to cooperate in every way I can, with the understanding that it does not come off the Louisiana quota.

Mr. BASS. I understand completely.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. We could take it off the quota of South Africa or the Fiji Islands, or some other country, perhaps, so that we could give a quota to Tennessee.

Mr. BASS. I have the greatest respect for the refining industry, as I have for all other industries, but they do not have a vote on the Senate floor, so that we do not have to worry too much about that.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. The Senator would be surprised how many votes they have in the House of Representatives.

Mr. BASS. I worked on this kind of legislation in the House for 8 years, so I understand a little of the mechanics in the committee there, but we wish to please them now.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Let me say that I should like to be helpful in what the Senator is seeking to achieve, with the understanding that I would not want to prevent us from having a sugar industry, or the necessary sugar legislation. That is one of the factors with which we sometimes have to contend. We have to get the various elements of the industry together, in order to get a Sugar Act passed at all in Congress.

Mr. BASS. There is a way we can restrict to a degree the influence of the refineries in distributing quotas.

There is one thing that disturbs me, and since the Senator has brought it up, I should like to say, regarding the criteria established by the Department in issuing quotas under the 1962 act, that the Department stated that, if Tennessee could get a mill that would process and manufacture sugar, it could get a quota. In my opinion, this is largely strictly up to the refineries, because they can say to the Department, "We do not wish to go to this area and build a factory."

By that action, they could veto the establishment of a new sugar quota. This should be reversed. The Secretary should say to a factory producing sugar in a given area, "If you do not wish to go in and manufacture it, then we are going to move you out from where you are and you will not have any authority to manufacture, because this business of controlling the establishment of quotas should not be in the hands of the refiners."

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. The last time we passed a sugar act in Congress it was done because we were then able to bring in new areas and increase the acreage. We did it in that bill.

Mr. BASS. That is correct.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. So far as this Senator is concerned, when we are in a position to expand acreage, I would expect to vote to take in new producing areas; but in a bill such as this, where those of us from the cane producing areas have been asked to take a 13-percent cut, we cannot be expected to be favorable to bringing in new producing areas.

Mr. BASS. I can understand that under present circumstances, but I hope, if the growth factor changes the situation, the Senator will help us do something along that line.

I appreciate the courtesy of the Senator from Oregon in yielding to me. I know he has an important message to deliver. I shall listen to him with interest.

#### PROTESTS AGAINST VIETNAM POLICIES

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the agitation in today's news about the nature of the Vietnam protests and the action of the U.S. Government to suppress them is indicative of the use of a straw man by both sides.

The youthful protesters who ignore the many means of peaceful and orderly protest open to them under the first amendment to the Constitution, are affording to the entire Nation the opportunity to dismiss all dissent from Government policy as lawless, reckless, and bordering on sedition.

The near hysteria with which these demonstrations are being met by Government officials suggests that they are anxious to tag all dissent as lawless, reckless, and bordering on sedition. To bring the full weight of Government police power down upon a few noticeable individuals can, they hope, spread disrepute to the whole idea of dissent or objection to a policy in Vietnam that is producing not peace but only war and the prospect of more war.

I do not doubt that the agitators on the one hand and their prosecutors on the other serve each other's purposes quite well. Many of the youths about whom the public has been reading so much in recent days have for their purpose little more than agitation, leading to jail. There are ample laws on the books to deal with anyone who evades or resists the draft, and these young men know that perfectly well. If that is their chosen means of expression, the law will deal with them.

And the administration, too, needs an extremist and violent faction against which to act, for then it can act with something like public support. No one can condone violation of the law in the form of evasion or resistance to selective service. For those who are bona fide conscientious objectors, the law permits an alternative to combat service. But the right to violate selective service laws because of a disagreement with the use to which they are put cannot gain support or approval in this country. Therefore, the administration is safe in cracking down on that type of dissent from its Vietnam war. I expect that in the weeks ahead, the Nation will be treated to a vast public relations campaign that will seek to create the impression that anyone who questions what is being done in Vietnam is a draft evader, or is the tool or dupe of Communists, or trying to further Communist objectives. A few prosecutions and a barrage of high-level statements will be central features of the campaign.

It is in these terms that the administration thinks it can best consolidate public support for its war.

#### RIGHT OF PROTEST IS PROTECTED BY CONSTITUTION

In this situation, it is well for those of us who believe our Vietnam policy is aiding the Communist cause in the long run to remember that there ample means of registering protest, means that are protected by the first amendment to the Constitution.

These means have been protected time and again by the Federal police power in the last decade when they were used in connection with civil rights. They take the form of peaceful, nonviolent protest. It is the sound of feet marching in protest, the use of the right of peaceful assembly, and of petition that are protected not only by the Federal courts, but by the same FBI and Justice Department that are now investigating the violation of draft laws and other forms of

October 19, 1965

illegal or violent action in connection with Vietnam demonstrations.

What America needs to hear is the tramp, tramp, tramp of marching feet, in community after community, across the length and breadth of this land, in protest against the administration's unconstitutional and illegal war in South Vietnam. Those protests must be within the law. Those protests must not violate the law. But the administration must also act in keeping with the rights of the protesters under the first amendment.

Let me say to the administration that it owes a responsibility of seeing to it that, under the guarantees of the first amendment, the legal rights of the protesters are protected. I know there will be incidents. That always has happened from time immemorial when people have protested against what they considered to be unsound government policies. Those who violate the law must be held accountable to the law. But also I forewarn the administration that it cannot, because of the actions of some of these demonstrators who may be law violators, breach the rights of the legitimate protesters; that it has the obligation to see that the rights of the legitimate protesters are protected, even though the Government itself is violating the Constitution of this country.

Beyond that, there are the rights of dissent that are exercised in political debate, open and public forums, and eventually at the ballot box.

I say to this administration that it should keep its eye on the ballot box, for, in my judgment, there will be an exercise of public opinion at that ballot box in 1966 and 1968, if this administration does not reverse itself in its policy of international outlawry, that will awaken this administration to what I think is a great miscalculation on its part, if it thinks that at the grassroots of America the people want war and not peace.

These are means of protest and dissent that cannot be squelched by Federal police power. I am satisfied that the longer the war in Vietnam fails to produce peace, the more these methods of dissent will be used by the American people, no matter how much the Federal authorities try in the meantime to discredit opposition by condemning and campaigning against those who conveniently provide a grounds for criminal prosecution.

Those means should be used. They should be used by an American people that wishes to abide by the rule of law. They should be used by people who believe their Government should itself abide by the Constitution of the United States, which permits war to be pursued only upon a declaration of war by Congress, and by people who believe that the United States must take the lead in furthering, not destroying, the rule of law in relations among nations.

It can hardly be wondered at that an administration that engages in war in violation of the means outlined by the Constitution is met with protests taking the form of violation of the draft laws.

But jungle law is usually met by more jungle law. This will be true not only here at home, but among the nations of

the world, who see the United States in flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter.

#### PEACEFUL PROTESTS SHOULD CONTINUE

These events of illegality being countered by more illegality should not deter the rest of us from continuing our quest for a return to the procedures of the Constitution and the United Nations Charter. We have ample means for making our views known. There is no need to resort to violence or violation of the law.

Some weeks ago I said as much to a group of young people who were organizing a Vietnam war protest in my home State of Oregon. They were planning a sit-in at the Portland post office last February, and while I recognize their status as adults able to choose their own course of action, I commented as I shall read.

At the time of the incident I discussed it on the floor of the Senate, and I discussed it last Friday in my speech on the floor of the Senate, but I did not have the telegram in my possession at the time.

As I said last Friday, the U.S. district attorney in Portland, Oreg., called me to report what these students were doing. He pointed out that it would be necessary for him to arrest them because, at 5 o'clock, he would have to close the building where they were protesting. He told me that he did not like to have to arrest them because that arrest would be on their record all through their adulthood, and he did not think that they realized the great mistake they were making.

He said:

I think they might listen to you.

I said:

I am not going to establish the precedent of involving myself in every protest in which some of the protesters move outside the law and do not stay within the framework of their legal rights. But I will send, through you, a telegram to them, if you will read it, stating once and for all my position in regard to my dedicated belief that no protester has the right to violate the law.

I shall read the telegram. I do not know if it has had any effect on them as to their subsequent conduct, but the fact is that subsequent to reading the wire they left the building and proceeded thereafter to continue their protest within the law. The telegram reads as follows:

I am concerned over the reports of commission of unlawful acts by a group of young people in Oregon in an attempt to dramatize their disagreement with U.S. policy in Vietnam.

The use of so-called "civil disobedience" techniques is not only inappropriate but also highly ineffective in bringing about changes in national policy in a constitutional democracy. Students have a right freely to publicize their views in a lawful manner and may perform a service in making a reasonable presentation in an attempt to influence public opinion. But irresponsible and unlawful actions do not contribute to intelligent discussion of the issues and can only hurt the cause which is propounded.

I do not doubt that the flouting of the Constitution and the United Nations Charter by the administration through its Vietnam policy will breed much more disrespects for

the draft laws and for the obligations of citizens to stick to peaceful means of protest. A country that takes the law into its own hands is no example for its citizens to do differently.

But there is no justification, in my opinion, for any young man in this country to violate the law by burning draft cards, or by defying the draft; then the youth who is able to establish that he is a conscientious objector within the meaning of the existing law is not exempt from a substitute service.

Let there be no mistake. The Senator from Oregon holds no brief for these law violators who are using these means of protest against our war policies in South Vietnam. I condemn it. To those who protest within the law I say you must not be dissuaded by the scofflaws because we are going to have extremists in our administration who will smear the lawful along with the unlawful.

But there are many Americans who recognize where such a course is going to take this country if it continues in its course of action. Many of us recognize that it is this country that has the most to gain in world affairs by adhering to a standard of respect for the United Nations and for international agreements and insisting that others do the same. To the extent that we depart from that standard in our international conduct, we damage our long-range purposes and objectives.

We are fighting in Vietnam without benefit of a declaration of war. That alone cannot help but breed disrespect for our domestic laws among those who disagree with the policy. But we are fighting that war in violation of the United Nations Charter, and that is going to breed disrespect for peaceful settlement of disputes among all nations, not the least of them the new nations of the world we are so anxious to influence and to guide in the ways of adherence to the rule of law.

#### EFFECT ON MORALE OF U.S. FORCES

Much will be heard, and has already been heard, about dissent at home having a demoralizing effect upon American forces fighting in Vietnam. This argument has nothing to do with the rightness or wrongness, or success or failure, of a policy, but is supposed only to shut off comment. If it does, then the supremacy of the military over the civilian in government will truly be established in this country.

I hope the time will never come when the wisdom of sending American soldiers into a war situation will become a forbidden subject of discussion. I hope the time will never come when the purpose of sending American soldiers into battle will be a forbidden topic among the civilians who support them and who may eventually have to join them. I hope the time will never come when the objective to be achieved by war is no longer a fit matter of debate, because if it is, the men who think they have gone 10,000 miles away to serve American interests will have gone in vain.

I repeat my position in connection with supporting the fighting men in South Vietnam.

There have been Senators who have said, "Are you not pretty much boxed in, because you are in a position where you will have to vote against appropriations for the war in Vietnam?"

I have said that I shall vote for appropriations for the war in Vietnam only because it is my trust and duty to provide the maximum protection for our troops in whatever situation they find themselves. They are not there on their volition but on the volition of their civilian commanders.

I shall continue to protest the war. I shall continue to vote against giving the President any vote of confidence for what I think is his inexcusable course of action involving us in the war in South Vietnam in the absence of a declaration of war.

That has been my policy. I voted for the defense appropriation bill. I voted against the President's two requests for a vote of confidence. Although it was concealed, he frankly admitted that he sent up the request to compel a vote of confidence, and said at the time he did not need the \$700 million, because he had transfer power. When he sent a bill based upon his need to finance the war in South Vietnam, I voted for the appropriation bill, but at the same time I filed again what I am filing this afternoon, my protest to his course of action in southeast Asia.

I repeat that protest, because it needs to be repeated, in view of the tremendous propaganda drive that is being conducted against those of us who are protesting the outlawry of our Government, the violation by our Government of our Constitution, the violation by our Government of the United Nations Charter.

The propaganda, of course, continues to mount. However, the senior Senator from Oregon will continue to protest, in the hope that at long last my country will return to the rule of law and that my country will return to keeping its pledges to its ideals in regard to the settlement of disputes that threaten the peace of the world through existing procedures which are designed to promote settlement by peaceful means, rather than by bullets.

That is the position which I stated last night at Princeton University, which I stated last Saturday in my own State, and which I have stated over and over again across the country, and will continue to state.

The views of those who are protesting the administration's course of action will never receive the attention or the emphasis that the propaganda of the administration, coming out by the reams from the Pentagon and the State Department and the White House, receives on the desks of American editors—the same editors who are remarkably silent on the censorship that has been imposed upon American war correspondents to a degree never before experienced in the history of American journalism and American foreign policy.

I can well understand why the guilty consciences of so many editors cause them to follow the propaganda line of the administration.

But there are some who do not, and I shall have something to say about editors who have demonstrated that they understand the importance of preserving another great constitutional freedom in this country—the freedom of the press. I shall discuss them briefly before I finish.

I wish to make clear once more my views as to why this administration is not declaring war. There are two main reasons, as I have said many times. The administration knows that to ask Congress for a declaration of war would start a historic debate at the grassroots of America. The administration would soon come to recognize that the American people want peace, not war.

Second, a declaration of war would completely change the international law relationships immediately with every noncombatant nation in the world. The administration knows that. The administration knows that those relationships with every other country would change overnight, if war were declared, because then the United States would be treated as a combatant. Other countries would have to deal with us as a combatant. That would cause great changes in trade policies. It would cause great changes, for example, in the relationship between the United States and the British Commonwealth in North Vietnam, and between the United States and Canada in North Vietnam.

It would change the relationships between the United States and France, the United States and Italy, and the United States and every other country in every area of the world that could be considered an area of the war. In my judgment, that, probably more than anything else, is of great concern to the administration.

But that does not justify the President of the United States making war without a declaration of war. That is why there is a need, not only for the officials of the executive branch of the Government, but for Members of Congress, as well, to reread that great war message of Woodrow Wilson of April 2, 1917, when he came before a joint session of Congress and read his recommendations for a declaration of war, stating in the message that he was without the constitutional authority to make war in the absence of a declaration of war. He was right. That is why I have recommended that officials of the executive branch of the Government and Members of Congress again read the great war message of Franklin Delano Roosevelt following Pearl Harbor, when Franklin Roosevelt also pointed out that without a declaration of war he was without authority to make war, and recommended his reasons for asking for a declaration of war. That, from the very beginning of this historic debate, has been the position of the senior Senator from Oregon.

The effort to suppress debate about the Vietnam war is taking increasingly blatant forms. One reason why the talk about morale has become necessary is the lack of general support for the war at the grassroots of America. The only time support for the war can be gained

is when it is described as forcing the Vietcong to negotiate. But they are not negotiating; and that calls for a scapegoat.

Read the polls. Read the interesting semantics. Read the way the questions are put in the polls, with a subtlety that is easily detected. The person questioned is left with the impression that the administration's policy is the way to attain peace.

A part of the burden of the argument of the senior Senator from Oregon is that making war will never attain peace. In my judgment, there is no battle in South Vietnam that the American military force we have there, which is now taking over the war, cannot win. As I have said many times, we are shooting fish in a barrel. Our so-called opposition is without an air force, it is without a navy, it is without heavy artillery, it is without tanks. Of course it cannot possibly stand up to American military force.

But when we finish winning, when we finish leveling, when we finish devastating South and North Vietnam, will we have won a peace? I am satisfied that history will say that we have removed for decades the possibility of winning a peace. History will show that after all the military victories which we shall win, and after that time has passed, we shall still have to occupy, occupy, and continue to occupy areas of Asia. Then, sooner or later, we will be driven out. That may occur 25 or 50 years from now.

But I do not want to leave that heritage to future generations of American boys and girls. That is why I have been urging the stopping of the killing. I have been urging multilateral support for peacekeeping. I have been urging that we bring in multilateral forces. I think we have been reduced now, with the failure of SEATO, and with the apparent impossibility of reconvening the 14-nation conference that established the Geneva accords in the first place, to resorting to the Security Council of the United Nations, and from there, if there should be a veto, to the General Assembly. I am confident that if we have to go to the General Assembly, we will get an overwhelming majority of support for peacekeeping operations in South Vietnam.

I believe that that will lead, first, to a cease-fire, and then to the establishment of some form of administration for that area of the world, which can be called, for want of a better description, a United Nations trusteeship. But it will provide for a termination of hostilities. That is what the war hawks in the United States do not like. That is what the nationalists in the United States do not want. It is interesting how we talk about nationalism in Asia but so little about America's own nationalism.

Mr. President, our operations in southeast Asia are operations based upon nationalism, and nationalism, in my judgment, has no place in our foreign policy when it comes to the course of action which we are following in southeast Asia.

If we accept it on a multilateral approach, and change the status from that of warmaking to peacekeeping, of course the Communists will have a voice in the determination of operations during a period of time, for however many years it may take to finally determine what kind of system of government shall prevail.

Yes, I, too, would like to wishfully think the Communists off the earth. I, too, would like to go to sleep some night and wake up in the morning and have a dream come true during the night that there are no more Communists. However, they happen to be an ugly reality. We are not going to wishfully think them out of existence. We are never going to be able to shoot them out of existence, for the more shooting we do, the more Communists we make.

The U.S. shooting in southeast Asia, in my judgment, has increased the number of Communists in the world by the millions.

The underdeveloped areas of the world, with their mass of ignorant, illiterate people, with their youngsters and, in many instances, their starving people, with their diseased children, and with their longevity of 30 to 35 years do not intend to permit the United States to shoot its way into dominion and domination over any segment of Asia.

If we have not learned what the French, the British, the Dutch, and the Belgians and the other colonial powers have learned from the pages of history at such a great cost in blood and materiel, then, let me say most respectfully, that we do not wish to learn. However, I believe that we have a trust, and I think that our trust is to keep faith with our ideals. Our trust is to practice our professings about morality.

We are a great people to ring church bells. However, we had better be on guard that the church bells do not start tolling the decline of America. I want to ring the church bells, too, but I want to ring them in jubilation over our practicing of the spiritual teachings from the pulpits of those churches.

In my judgment, we cannot reconcile America's foreign policy in South Vietnam with Christianity, nor, for that matter, with any other religion that believes in one Supreme Being.

I will not be silenced in his constant plea for peace as a substitute for the jungle law of military might that the United States is practicing in southeast Asia.

In my judgment, the only time that support for the war can be gained is when it is described as forcing the Vietcong to negotiate. However, they are not negotiating. That calls for a scapegoat in the administration's propaganda.

It is an American characteristic that when a U.S. foreign policy fails to achieve its goal, someone here at home must be blamed for it. We had to find Americans to blame for the takeover of China by the Communists, and then for the takeover of Cuba by Castro. By our standards, nothing abroad ever happens unless some American or group of Americans wills it. If an American policy flops, it is only because it was sabotaged by someone in the State Department, or was de-

signed to fail in the first place, or was frustrated by some other Americans.

Today, we are seeing the failure of the "peace through war" policy in Vietnam being blamed upon those Americans who simply disagree that peace in Asia can be achieved by a unilateral American war effort. The longer the war is stalemated, the more blame will be placed upon those who thought it was misconceived in the first place.

But I am confident that the good sense and judgment of the American people will recognize that we are alone in this war in Asia, and that despite all our claims that we are saving Asia from communism, not a single major Asian country is fighting with us.

When the Pope made his appeal for peace, he did not make it to the Pentagon, or even the White House. He made it to the United Nations. Many of the phony sophisticates in high office are given to nodding at speeches like that of Pope Paul, and intimating that while the Pope had to say all that churchy stuff, it is really a question of who has the power to make their views prevail in the world. That is the attitude of the war hawks. That is the position of the warmongers. Like Stalin before them, many Americans are wont to ask how many divisions the Pope has.

But I do not believe that Pope Paul came to this country on a fool's errand. I think he knew the right place to come, the right words to say, and the right appeal to make to further the cause of peace. The United States stands outside the framework of the United Nations today. Until we get back in it with regard to Vietnam, we are not furthering the cause of peace any more than the Communists are.

It is regrettable that those who believe in lawful protest under the first amendment are bound to be smeared by two forces in this country. The first force is the small group of agitators or outright Communists who undoubtedly, whenever we have a situation of protest, would seek to termite their way into the foundation. However, our FBI knows who they are. Our intelligence service knows who they are.

They are such a small minority that those of us who believe that we have a trust and a duty to carry on our life under the first amendment must continue the protest. The senior Senator from Oregon intends to so continue.

Then, of course, we are smeared by the rightists and extremists within the administration and outside the administration who would seek to create the impression that, unless one bends his knee at the altar of the political expediency of this administration and sanctions what he considers to be wrongful acts in the field of foreign policy, he is guilty of some kind of sedition.

I have been called names before, and I have never surrendered to ad hominem arguments, and I do not intend to do so on this occasion. I intend to continue, short of a declaration of war, to protest, in the hope that, at long last, my administration will change its course of action and proceed to lay this whole threat to the peace of the world before

the Security Council and call upon it, as the charter provides, to take jurisdiction over this threat to the peace of the world in Asia.

The general thesis of my remarks appears in an editorial published in this morning's Washington Post entitled: "Demonstrators and the Law."

I shall read certain excerpts from the editorial and then, when I close, I shall have the entire editorial printed in the RECORD.

The editorial begins:

The Department of Justice is properly interested in and concerned about the possibility of a Communist conspiracy to obstruct the operation of the draft law. It ought to conduct an appropriate investigation, make arrests where warranted, and institute prosecutions where required.

The senior Senator from Oregon agrees. The senior Senator from Oregon wants to make very clear that where one can advance proof to show that we have those—not only Communists, but anyone else in the list of protesters—who are seeking to violate the law, they should be investigated and prosecuted.

The editorial continues:

The law is quite clear on the responsibilities of registered citizens, and burning draft cards and illegally avoiding service is not an acceptable way of expressing disagreement with Government policy.

The senior Senator from Oregon wants the RECORD to show that he agrees. However, that is a long way from the position taken by some that it would silence lawful protest. It is a long way from the position taken by some that no one should exercise the constitutional right under the first amendment to protest a foreign policy of his Government that he thinks is a grossly mistaken foreign policy.

The editorial continues:

What it ought not to do is to continue illegal defiance and perfectly lawful demonstration. Nor should it use the fact that many of the weekend marchers against the war in Vietnam are known Communists to discredit the marchers who simply differ with Government policies, without being disloyal to the country.

Madam President (Mrs. NEUBERGER in the chair), I seriously doubt that many of the marchers are known Communists, and, if they are, let the FBI present the evidence. I have no doubt that there probably was a sprinkling of them among those marchers, but it is easy to build up to the false conclusion that because people march in protest to the foreign policy of this Government—within the law—that they are honeycombed with Communists.

The editorial continues:

Surely the overwhelming number of the demonstrators were not Communists and many probably withered at their association with Communists in the demonstrations. The coercive power of Government law-enforcement agencies must not be used to inhibit disagreement and dissent when the expression of that dissent is limited to perfectly lawful means.

The senior Senator from Oregon agrees and heartily applauds this wise observation by the editorial in the Washington Post.

The editorial continues:

As a practical matter, the Government should be careful to avoid giving the demonstrations the attention that ought to be reserved for major threats to national unity. Demonstrations as large as those held over the weekend could be mobilized to protest the manufacture of straight pins on almost any pleasant autumn day. The dissent in the country is relatively minor; but the Government risks exaggerating its significance by reacting too strongly.

I say most respectfully that in my judgment, the administration is over-reacting as a means of silencing all objections to its policy. The soundings at the grassroots of America indicate that the dissent is of great proportions, from coast to coast.

The editorial continues:

After a long and searching examination of the courses available in South Vietnam, the overwhelming majority of the American people have come to the conclusion that there is no acceptable alternative to the policy the Government is pursuing.

I do not think the Washington Post could be more mistaken, Madam President. In fact, even the polls, with their slanted and weighted consideration in favor of the administration's position, show a close division in this country in regard to public opinion vis-a-vis the administration policy in South Vietnam.

The Post says:

That majority is bound to be impatient with critics of that policy whose credentials, like those of the Communists, will not stand examination. It is likely to resent and prone to overreact to extremists who imply that their own country is indifferent to considerations of humanity. But whatever the majority's resentment, it must tolerate criticism from those who, in good faith, have a different point of view.

And so it must. And so, also for the sake of discussing a hypothesis, and accepting what I consider to be an unsound major premise factually, let us assume that a majority favors the administration's policy at the present time. One of the precious safeguards of freedom in this Republic is that a minority must not be suppressed in its lawful right to change into a majority. This great foreign policy issue is in a state of flux. This is one Senator who believes that when the American people get the facts—and this administration has not started to give the American people the facts about the war in South Vietnam—when they get the facts, in my judgment, an overwhelming majority of the American people will repudiate the administration's policy. I believe the repudiation will start at the ballot box in 1966, and continue at the ballot box in 1968. And it should, unless this administration changes what I consider to be its illegal, unconstitutional course of international outlawry in South Vietnam, along with the Communist nations, which are likewise engaged in outlawry, in their prosecution of a war. What they should be doing on both sides is submitting the issues of that war to the council table, under the procedures provided for in the United Nations Charter.

Until we are willing to try it, I do not accept the argument of those who say it will not work. We will never know until we try to make it work.

Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the entire Washington Post editorial be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 19, 1965]

#### DEMONSTRATORS AND THE LAW

The Department of Justice is properly interested in and concerned about the possibility of a Communist conspiracy to obstruct the operation of the draft law. It ought to conduct an appropriate investigation, make arrests where warranted and institute prosecutions where required. The law is quite clear on the responsibilities of registered citizens, and burning draft cards and illegally avoiding service is not an acceptable way of expressing disagreement with Government policy.

What it ought not to do is to confuse illegal defiance and perfectly lawful demonstration. Nor should it use the fact that many of the weekend marchers against the war in Vietnam are known Communists to discredit the marchers who simply differ with Government policies, without being disloyal to their country. Surely the overwhelming number of the demonstrators were not Communists and many probably writhed at their association with Communists in the demonstrations. The coercive power of Government law-enforcement agencies must not be used to inhibit disagreement and dissent when the expression of that dissent is limited to perfectly lawful means.

As a practical matter, the Government should be careful to avoid giving the demonstrations the attention that ought to be reserved for major threats to national unity. Demonstrations as large as those held over the weekend could be mobilized to protest the manufacture of straight pins on almost any pleasant autumn day. The dissent in the country is relatively minor; but the Government risks exaggerating its significance by reacting too strongly.

After a long and searching examination of the courses available in South Vietnam, the overwhelming majority of the American people have come to the conclusion that there is no acceptable alternative to the policy the Government is pursuing. That majority is bound to be impatient with critics of that policy whose credentials, like those of the Communists, will not stand examination. It is likely to resent and prone to overreact to extremists who imply that their own country is indifferent to considerations of humanity. But whatever the majority's resentment, it must tolerate criticism from those who, in good faith, have a different point of view.

This toleration will be misconstrued in North Vietnam. The officials of the National Liberation Front may misinterpret the open expression of opposition as a sign of weakness and division in this country. It is, on the contrary, a sign of strength and unity in the country. The National Liberation Front must be made to see that. Perhaps the best way to make this understood would be more manifestations of public support for the Government's policy that would show how united the people of this country are behind the Government's determination to defend the people of South Vietnam against conquest from the North. It is a better alternative than any sort of repression of lawful and orderly dissent.

#### TRIBUTE TO THE ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH AND THE YORK GAZETTE AND DAILY

Mr. MORSE. Turning to another but somewhat related matter, Madam Presi-

dent, I said earlier that I would have something to say about some courageous editors in America.

The two newspapers I now mention are not the only two which meet the test of objectivity and journalistic courage, but I know of no two newspapers which I would be more inclined to suggest for this year's Pulitzer Prize in American journalism. One is that great newspaper, the St. Louis Post Dispatch; the second is a much smaller but most remarkable newspaper for its objectivity, for its presentation of facts, for its journalistic courage—a little newspaper up in York, Pa., known as the York Gazette and Daily. I have referred to some of its editorials in the past.

I again pay high honor and tribute to the editor of that newspaper, Mr. Higgins, for I know of no editor in this country more daring, more objective, or more factual than the editor of the York Gazette and Daily.

This afternoon I wish to pay my tribute once again to the editors of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. On October 14, 1965, they published an editorial dealing with our Latin American policy. I consider it to be completely sound. It is highly critical of the administration. Criticism of the administration is due. The editorial, entitled "Lame Rebuttal," reads as follows:

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch]

#### LAME REBUTTAL

The Johnson administration would do well to stop trying to defend its intervention in the Dominican Republic, and start developing a hemisphere policy based on something more substantial than confused and frantic anticommunism. That is the conclusion we draw from Under Secretary of State Mann's lame reply to the FULBRIGHT critique of the Dominican adventure.

Mr. Mann did not rebut, he confirmed the main points of Senator FULBRIGHT's analysis, one of which was that President Johnson in this case was the victim of bad advice, poor judgment, and immature understanding. The Under Secretary exhibits symptoms of all three.

Senator FULBRIGHT concluded, from a careful study of the facts, that President Johnson's advisers exaggerated the danger of a Communist takeover of the revolt in Santo Domingo last April. He offered evidence to support his view. "Taint so," replies Mr. Mann; but the evidence he offers is simply that all the President's advisers were convinced that a danger was clear and present.

There is no argument that the advisers were convinced. The question is whether they were correct, and we suspect that Juan Bosch will have the last word on that. He has declared that American intervention created more Communists than ever were involved in the attempt to restore his constitutional government, and we expect that history will bear him out.

The basic issue, however, is not the extent of Communist involvement, but Mr. Mann's implicit assumption that Communist involvement somehow gives the United States an automatic license to put down a Latin American revolt by the unilateral use of American armed force. How can any such doctrine possibly be squared with the principle, which Mr. Mann himself claims to support, that unilateral intervention is illegal under the OAS charter and that nonintervention is the keystone of the inter-American structure?

The administration appears to contend that any Communist activity in Latin America must by definition represent intervention

by a Communist state. But no evidence has been presented of any substantial involvement in Santo Domingo of Cuba, China, Russia, or any other Communist government. If such evidence had existed, the proper response would have been collective action under the OAS charter and not unilateral action by the United States. Our Government simply does not have the right to set itself up as the sole judge of what kind of revolution or reform our Latin American neighbors shall be permitted. Attempts to play this role can only alienate us steadily from the peoples of the hemisphere.

Senator FULBRIGHT was profoundly right in saying that the policy followed in Santo Domingo, consistently pursued, would make the United States "the enemy of all revolutions and therefore the ally of all the unpopular and corrupt oligarchies of the hemisphere." When will our leaders learn that, quite apart from international law and the treaty obligations that argue against such a policy, pursuing it in an age of social revolution means deliberately choosing the losing side? There are going to be social revolutions in Latin America and elsewhere, whether we like it or not, and the surest way to encourage Communist capture of them is to align American armed power everywhere on the side of the status quo.

Madam President, I completely agree with the premises stated in the editorial. On the very day the tickers began to tell the story of the sending of American marines to the Dominican Republic, and of the story of the protests from Chile, Ecuador, Venezuela, and Peru, some of our best friends among democratic governments have charged us with intervention.

If the marines were being sent in for the limited purpose which the President had announced, he had a right to send them in, and sending them in did not constitute intervention under the meaning of the term in international law. For the announcement of the President was that the marines were being sent in to evacuate American nationals when the Government of the Dominican Republic was supposed to have announced to the American Government—and we did not know what was subsequently disclosed at the Foreign Relations Committee hearings on this subject—that it could not give protection to American nationals. We did not know then, as the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT] has since brought out, that the American Ambassador suggested to the military junta in the Dominican Republic that such a message be sent.

Madam President, some of us consider that course of action to be entirely inexcusable on the part of the American Ambassador in the Dominican Republic.

Subsequent events have shown that we went far beyond evacuating American nationals, and that we did take part in the revolution. History will record.

Many editorials published in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch have rightfully pointed it out. The Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, has also pointed it out.

I have agreed with him, as I stated in a major speech the day following the historic speech of the Senator from Arkansas on the floor of the Senate, not so many days ago, in which he expressed criticisms of our Dominican Republic policy.

Madam President, this is another area of great controversy in the field of American foreign policy. As I stated Friday, and as I repeat today, I hope that the American Secretary of State, before he arrives in Rio de Janeiro on November 17, will clarify our policy, because Under Secretary of State Mann, in his speech at Los Angeles the other day, did not clarify it but only added confusion to an already very confused situation.

Nevertheless, I said on that day that we had the right to send in our marines under international law to bring out American nationals when we had been advised that the government of that country could not protect their lives.

If Senators will read my speech, they will see that although I defended my President in the sending in of the marines to evacuate American nationals, I also pointed out that it should not take long. I also pointed out that it would not require many marines to do the job. I also warned the Johnson administration that if it went beyond that purpose, it would become involved in the revolution itself and would be guilty of intervention. Further, by participating in any aid to the revolution, it would be in violation of the Rio de Janeiro Treaty and the Charter of the Organization of American States.

Madam President, what we need before the Secretary of State goes to Rio de Janeiro is a clear-cut statement from the State Department that we stand foursquare on our commitments under the Rio de Janeiro Treaty, the Charter of the Organization of American States, the agreement at Punta del Este, and the Washington Agreement of Foreign Ministers of 1964.

We need this clarification in order to reestablish the confidence of the world in us; a confidence which has been badly shaken by events following passage in the House of Representatives of the unfortunate resolution which has created grave doubts in Latin America as to exactly what our position is on the issue of intervention.

Madam President, I close by saying that I am never happy to find myself in a critical posture in relation to my Government on foreign policy. However, I take some solace from the fact that if we were to add up all the issues on American foreign policy, it would be found that I am, in an overwhelming majority of the issues, in agreement with the administration.

But, in the area of Latin America, and in the area of southeast Asia, I find myself in substantial disagreement on a great many issues.

Madam President, there is an area for agreement, and I see some trends of such a prospect within the developing policies of the administration. I pray that I am right in my hope that in the not too many months ahead we shall find ourselves of one mind again.

I believe that I see a growing recognition on the part of the administration that great trust must be placed in Ambassador Goldberg at the United Nations, that every support must be given to him as he seeks to carry out what we have been led to believe are the clear instruc-

tions of the President of the United States, to see what can be done by way of conversations and diplomatic negotiations with members of the United Nations, and particularly with members of the Security Council, to find a way to bring an end to the killing in southeast Asia, the ending of the bombing, the adoption of a ceasefire, the promulgation of an administrative policy that will lead to the setting up of a United Nations trusteeship.

There are some straws in the diplomatic winds that indicate that an analysis is being made of that approach. If I am correct in my understanding—and I am not merely acting on the basis of straws taken from the blue sky, but this understanding is based on conversations I have had in regard to this matter with high people in the administration—I believe there is some hope.

I trust that every diplomatic channel will be exhausted to the end of bringing of the hope into fruition. I am satisfied that we must end the war in southeast Asia, but on a basis that will protect the millions of people there from what I think would be history's worst blood bath if we left the parties to themselves in southeast Asia. Now that we have been a party to the creation of that situation, we cannot leave the situation to the parties themselves. That is why I have never, in my speeches of protest, advocated that we withdraw abruptly from southeast Asia, but that we change our own status and get others to come in with us to keep the peace.

I would return to that ideal, the proposals of Franklin Roosevelt, for a trusteeship over Indochina by the United Nations. I hope my administration will proceed to do everything it can, within the framework of the United Nations, to attaining that ideal.

#### THE PUERTO RICAN CHILD IN THE AMERICAN SCHOOL

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, I recently received a most interesting article discussing the serious problems faced by the Puerto Rican child in our public school system. The authors, Dr. Frank M. Cordasco and Mr. Charles R. Kelley, are both prominent New Jerseyites who have long been active in the field of education and public service.

I ask unanimous consent that this informative and useful article be included in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

##### THE PUERTO RICAN CHILD IN THE AMERICAN SCHOOL

(By Frank M. Cordasco, professor of education, Jersey City State College; and Charles R. Kelley, educational consultant to the New Jersey Office of Economic Opportunity)

##### I. THE MIGRATION

In 1960 some 900,000 Puerto Ricans lived in the United States including not only those born on the Island but also those born to Puerto Rican parents in the States. Until 1940, the Puerto Rican community in the United States numbered only 70,000, but by 1950 this had risen to 226,000, and over the decade to 1960, the net gain due to migration

## By Mr. DOUGLAS:

S. 2663. A bill for the relief of Dinesh Kumar Poddar; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## By Mr. DODD:

S. 2664. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Thermita Campbell and her son, Michael Anthony Campbell; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## By Mr. HILL (for himself and Mr. SPARKMAN):

S. 2665. A bill for the relief of Fuad Boulos Shunnarah; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## By Mr. YARBOROUGH:

S. 2666. A bill to clarify and otherwise improve chapter 73 of title 38, United States Code, relating to the Department of Medicine and Surgery of the Veterans' Administration, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

(See the remarks of Mr. YARBOROUGH when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

## By Mr. MAGNUSON (by request):

S. 2667. A bill to amend title II of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, to create the Federal Maritime Administration, and for other purposes; and

S. 2668. A bill to amend the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, in order to authorize the chartering for certain passenger cruise service of vessels operating under subsidy; to the Committee on Commerce.

(See the remarks of Mr. MAGNUSON when he introduced the above bills, which appear under separate headings.)

## By Mr. MAGNUSON:

S. 2669. A bill to establish safety standards for motor vehicle tires sold or shipped in interstate commerce, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce.

(See the remarks of Mr. MAGNUSON when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

## By Mr. YARBOROUGH:

S. 2670. A bill to approve a contract negotiated with the El Paso County Water Improvement District No. 1, Texas, to authorize its execution, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

(See the remarks of Mr. YARBOROUGH when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

## By Mr. THURMOND:

S. 2671. A bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 in order to exempt employees employed in the shelling of shellfish from the minimum wage provisions of such act; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

(See the remarks of Mr. THURMOND when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

## By Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey (for himself, Mr. MONDALE, and Mrs. NEUBERGER):

S. 2672. A bill to provide full and fair disclosure of the nature of interests in real estate subdivisions sold through the mails and instruments of transportation or communication in interstate commerce, and to prevent frauds in the sale thereof, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

(See the remarks of Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

## By Mr. HARTKE (for himself and Mr. PELL):

S. J. Res. 118. Joint resolution to provide for the construction of a velodrome in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

(See the remarks of Mr. HARTKE when he introduced the above joint resolution, which appear under a separate heading.)

## By Mr. SIMPSON:

S. J. Res. 119. Joint resolution authorizing the Hungarian Freedom Fighters' Federation to erect a memorial in the District of Columbia or its environs; to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

(See the remarks of Mr. SIMPSON when he introduced the above joint resolution, which appear under a separate heading.)

uthority for the operation of such facilities exists, but in general terms. The proposed amendment would spell out this authority and also specifically authorize the collection of reasonable fees, under certain circumstances, from employees, visitors, and others using the facilities, as well as providing certain operational refinements.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be printed at this point in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 2666) to clarify and otherwise improve chapter 73 of title 38, United States Code, relating to the Department of Medicine and Surgery of the Veterans' Administration, and for other purposes; introduced by Mr. YARBOROUGH, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

## S. 2666

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 4101 of title 38, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:*

## "§4101. Functions of Department

"There shall be in the Veterans' Administration a Department of Medicine and Surgery under a Chief Medical Director. The functions of the Department of Medicine and Surgery shall be those necessary for a complete medical and hospital service, including medical research and education directly related to such service as prescribed by the Administrator pursuant to this chapter and other statutory authority."

Sec. 2. Section 4102 of title 38, United States Code, is amended by deleting "Medical Service, Dental Service, Nursing Service, and Auxiliary Service" and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "a Medical Service, a Dental Service, a Nursing Service, and such other professional and auxiliary services as the Administrator may find to be necessary to carry out the functions of the Department."

Sec. 3. (a) Section 4103(a) of title 38, United States Code, is amended by deleting "five", immediately preceding "Assistant Chief Medical Directors," in the first sentence of paragraph (3) thereof, and substituting therefor, "six".

(b) Such section 4103 is further amended by amending subsection (b) thereof to read as follows:

"(b) Except as provided in subsection (c) of this section—

"(1) any appointment under this section shall be for a period of four years, with reappointment permissible for successive like periods,

"(2) any such appointment or reappointment may be extended by the Administrator for a period not in excess of three years, and

"(3) any person so appointed or reappointed shall be subject to removal by the Administrator for cause."

Sec. 4. Section 4104 of title 38, United States Code, is amended by deleting "(2) Managers, pharmacists" and inserting in lieu thereof "(2) Pharmacists", and by deleting "pathologists," in subparagraph (2).

Sec. 5. Section 4105 of title 38, United States Code, is amended as follows:

**§ 4105. Qualifications of appointees**

"(a) Any person to be eligible for appointment to the following positions in the Department of Medicine and Surgery must have the requisite qualifications:

**"(1) Physician—**

"hold the degree of doctor of medicine or of doctor of osteopathy from a college or university approved by the Administrator, have completed an internship satisfactory to the Administrator, and be licensed to practice medicine, surgery, or osteopathy in a State;

**"(2) Dentist—**

"hold the degree of doctor of dental surgery or dental medicine from a college or university approved by the Administrator, and be licensed to practice dentistry in a State;

**"(3) Nurse—**

"have successfully completed a full course of nursing in a recognized school of nursing, approved by the Administrator, and be registered as a graduate nurse in a State;

"(4) Director of a hospital, domiciliary, center or outpatient clinic—

"have such business and administrative experience and qualifications as the Administrator shall prescribe;

**"(5) Optometrist—**

"be licensed to practice optometry in a State;

**"(6) Pharmacist—**

"hold the degree of bachelor of science in pharmacy, or the equivalent, from a school of pharmacy approved by the Administrator, and be registered as a pharmacist in a State;

"(7) Physical therapists, occupational therapists, dietitians, and other employees shall have such scientific or technical qualifications as the Administrator shall prescribe.

"(b) Except as provided in section 4114 of this title, no person may be appointed in the Department of Medicine and Surgery as a physician, dentist, or nurse unless he is a citizen of the United States."

**Sec. 6. Section 4106 of title 38, United States Code, is amended by—**

(a) deleting the words "Automatic promotions" in the second sentence of subsection (c) and inserting in lieu thereof the word "Advancement", and

(b) adding at the end thereof the following new subsection (e):

"(e) In accordance with regulations prescribed by the Administrator, the grade level and salary of a physician, dentist, or nurse changed from a level of assignment where the grade level is based on both the nature of the assignment and personal qualifications, may be adjusted to the grade and salary otherwise appropriate."

**Sec. 7(a). Section 4107 of title 38, United States Code, is amended by—**

(1) deleting "or the position of clinic director at an outpatient clinic," in the second sentence of paragraph (2) of subsection (b), and

(2) adding at the end thereof the following new subsection (c):

"(c) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the per annum salary rate of each individual serving as a director of a hospital, domiciliary, or center who is not a physician shall not be less than the salary rate which he would receive under this section if his service as a director of a hospital, domiciliary, or center had been service as a physician in the director grade. The position of the director of a hospital, domiciliary, or center shall not be subject to the provisions of the Classification Act of 1949 as amended."

(b) Any physician or dentist in the executive grade on the date of enactment of this Act by virtue of his holding the position of clinic director at an outpatient clinic may be continued in such grade so long as he continues to hold the same position, notwithstanding the amendment made in section 4107(b) of title 38, United States Code, by section 7(a) of this Act.

**Sec. 8. Section 4111 of title 38, United States Code, is amended by deleting "(a)" in the first line and subsection (b) in its entirety.**

**Sec. 9. Section 4112 of title 38, United States Code, is amended by deleting "conduct regular calendar quarterly meetings," in the second sentence thereof, and substituting therefor, "meet on a regular basis as prescribed by the Administrator."**

**Sec. 10. Section 4113 of title 38, United States Code, is amended by deleting "and paragraph (1) of section 4104" and inserting in lieu thereof "paragraph (1) of section 4104 and physicians, dentists, and nurses appointed on a temporary full-time or part-time basis under section 4114".**

**Sec. 11. (a) Section 4114 of title 38, United States Code, is amended by deleting the words "or part-time" in paragraph (a) (1) (A) and inserting in lieu thereof "part-time, or without compensation".**

(b) Such section 4114 is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(d) The Chief Medical Director may waive for the purpose of appointments under this section the requirements of section 4105(a) of this title that the licensure of a physician or dentist, or the registration of a nurse must be in a 'State', if—

"(1) in the case of a physician, he is to be used on a research or an academic post or where there is no direct responsibility for the care of patients; or

"(2) in any case, where the individual is to serve in a country other than the United States and his licensure or registration is in the country in which he is to serve."

(c) The catchline of such section 4114 is amended to read "Temporary full-time, part-time, and without compensation appointments; residencies or internships".

(d) The analysis at the head of chapter 73 of title 38, United States Code, is amended by deleting:

"4114. Temporary and part-time appointments; residencies and internships." and inserting in lieu thereof:

"4114. Temporary full-time, part-time, and without compensation appointments; residencies or internships."

**Sec. 12. (a) Section 5004 of title 38, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:**

**"§ 5004. Garages and parking facilities**

"(a) The Administrator may construct and maintain on reservations of Veterans' Administration hospitals and domiciliaries, garages for the accommodation of privately-owned automobiles of employees of such hospitals and domiciliaries. Employees using such garages shall make such reimbursement therefor as the Administrator may deem reasonable.

"(b) (1) The Administrator may establish, operate, and maintain, in conjunction with Veterans' Administration hospitals and domiciliaries, parking facilities for the accommodation of privately owned vehicles of Federal employees, and vehicles of visitors and other individuals having business at such hospitals and domiciliaries.

"(2) The Administrator may establish and collect (or provide for the collection of) fees, for the use of the parking facilities, authorized by subsection (b) (1) of this section, at such rate or rates which he determines would (A) at least amortize the cost of lands acquired after enactment of this section, (B) amortize cost of improvements and recover cost of maintenance and operations, and (C) be reasonable under the particular circumstances.

"(3) The Administrator may contract, by lease or otherwise, with responsible persons, firms or corporations, for the operation of such parking facilities, under such terms and conditions as he may prescribe, and

without regard to the laws concerning advertising for competitive bids.

"(c) Money received from the use of the garages and from the parking facilities operations authorized by this section, may be credited to the applicable appropriation charged with the cost of operating and maintaining these facilities. Any amount not needed for the maintenance, operation and repair of these facilities shall be covered into the Treasury of the United States as miscellaneous receipts."

(b) The table of sections, appearing at the beginning of chapter 81 of such title 38, is amended by deleting therefrom:

"5004. Garages on hospital and domiciliary reservations."

and inserting in lieu thereof:

"5004. Garages and parking facilities."

**ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT FEDERAL MARITIME ADMINISTRATION**

**Mr. MAGNUSON.** Mr. President, in recent weeks a number of proposals have been advanced, and some subsequently withdrawn, with the announced purpose of assisting and promoting the U.S. merchant marine. I do not care at this time to comment on all the proposals that have been made by Government officials and committees and by several associations representing maritime labor and management. It is rather clear that this adventure of initiating proposals and new ideas has not come to an end. The President of the United States, has promised a new maritime policy and a special subcommittee of the President's Maritime Advisory Committee is now busy at work on additional maritime proposals.

I have no panacea to suggest to the Advisory Committee, but I do believe that it will be necessary for those who make further recommendations to realize the importance of including a meaningful program of assistance and modernization for our domestic merchant fleet and our American shipyards.

The desperate condition of the domestic trade has been fully documented in Senate Commerce Committee hearings, yet this essential segment, which in the past has involved a fleet larger than that in our foreign trade, has been admittedly and by design ignored in Government studies made to date. The problem of the U.S. coastal, Great Lakes, and offshore trades to Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and Alaska represents to me one of the most serious facing our American merchant marine. It can no longer be ignored.

Neither can our shipyards and essential American suppliers to shipyards be ignored. The Government spends over a billion and one-half dollars annually in private American shipyards and American private operators in the foreign and domestic trade spend annually another quarter of a billion dollars. Therefore, I believe it should be obvious that the improvement and modernization of our shipbuilding capability offers possibilities for competitive improvement and cost reduction to the Government and industry as significant as the modernization of our merchant fleet.

Much could be advanced for improving the competitive position of both our domestic fleet and American shipyards